

Missouri Historical Review



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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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SOME FOLK-BALLADS AND THE BACKGROUND OF HISTORY¹

BY JOHN GOULD FLETCHER²

In looking through the four volumes of Mr. Vance Randolph's monumental work on *Ozark Folksongs*,³ the most extensive collection of similar material so far published in the United States, and by far the largest ever gathered from any single region, one is struck by the fact that a certain number of these ballads, accumulated by Mr. Randolph during the years 1922-1942, relates to actual historical events. The entire work is arranged as follows: in the first volume, there is a section devoted to ballads of traditional British origin (following the scheme set up by Professor Child) which were brought, no doubt, by the ancestors of the present Ozark population, from Tennessee and North Carolina, Kentucky and other southern border regions, to their present home. As Mr. Randolph has pointed out, more than three-fourths of the ballads from the United States so far collected, have come from the South, mostly from Virginia; and are essentially akin in their general outlook on life and destiny, to the attitudes taken up for centuries by the British people, especially those who have lived on both sides of the Scottish border. Of the one hundred and seven traditional Child ballads so far collected in the United States, Randolph has found forty-one in Missouri and Arkansas and Eastern Oklahoma; following them by seventy-nine listed as

¹This interpretative essay on *Ozark Folksongs* is reprinted from *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX (Summer, 1950), pp. 87-98, by permission of Dorsey D. Jones, editor-in-chief of the *Quarterly*, and Mrs. John Gould Fletcher of Little Rock, Arkansas.

²JOHN GOULD FLETCHER, a native of Arkansas, was a graduate of Harvard and received an LL.D. from the University of Arkansas in 1933. He was the author of a number of books of poetry and prose and he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1939 for his *Selected Poems*. He died May 10, 1950. He was president of the Ozark Folklore Society.

³*Ozark Folksongs*, collected and edited by Vance Randolph, edited for the State Historical Society of Missouri by Floyd C. Shoemaker and Frances G. Emberson, in four volumes. Published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1946, 1948, 1949, and 1950.

later importations. With almost no exceptions, all these are from that part of Europe previously covered by Bishop Percy, in his "Reliques of Ancient British Poetry" in 1765, and by Sir Walter Scott in his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" in 1802. That they have persisted, with some modifications of text, to be sung by hardy mountaineers all the way from the Atlantic seaboard to the Oklahoma prairies, says more than many volumes of text concerning the nature of American customs and usages, or the supposedly purely economic origin of the American Constitution.

The ballads of specific American origin, on the other hand, are of chief interest as displaying the new attitudes toward life developed by the Ozark people at the conclusion of their Western migration. These ballads are in Mr. Randolph's second volume, under the titles, "Songs about Murderers and Outlaws," "Western Songs and Ballads," "Songs of the Civil War," and "Negro and Pseudo-Negro Songs." This list, in itself, reveals a good deal concerning the attitude of the Ozark people to the new environment in which they found themselves. Having crossed the Mississippi, and by sheer self-dependence and pioneer spirit, having made homes for themselves in what had been a wilderness, they found the prairies open before them to the westward, and a new type of pioneering called for by necessity. Of the thirty-two western songs printed in Mr. Randolph's second volume, all were presumably known to that great Texan, John A. Lomax—though Mr. Randolph prints one or two which never appeared in any of Lomax's collections. This interest in the West, stimulated no doubt by the vast rise of the range-cattle industry and the heyday of the Cowboy, during the period 1840-1860, was also immensely stimulated by the sensational news about California gold, in the early months of 1849. Josiah Gregg, the most famous of Santa Fé traders, had already investigated and followed the Canadian River Route, starting at Fort Smith, which he recommended as being generally superior to the usual one followed from Independence, Missouri, along the course of the Upper Arkansas, before he wrote his classic "Commerce of the Prairies." What Gregg had explored, other expeditions, hurrying to get to California, and stake out good claims, were ready to follow. During the

early months of 1849, hundreds of wagons lined the meadows between Van Buren and Fort Smith—and dozens of adventurous youths framed themselves into Arkansas' "California Army."

All this is reflected by "Sweet Betsey from Pike," which Randolph prints; no doubt the Pike County mentioned in this rollicking ballad is the one by that name in Missouri. It is also reflected in "Oh Susannah," which Stephen Foster wrote without thought of California—and found, no doubt to his surprise, becoming a folksong, with the word "California" substituted for the original "Indiana." After this episode, the main body of the Ozark people, no doubt, still tended to cling to their mountain fastnesses; the conservative elders among them going on with "Barbery Allen," "The House-Carpenter," and "False Lamkin"; the youngsters, especially if they had taken part in the Mexican War or the California Gold Rush, coming back (with pockets full or empty) to sing "The Texas Rangers," or "The Dying Cowboy," or "Little Jo, the Wrangler." These last, found by Mr. Randolph in the Ozarks, could not be picked up so readily by any ballad-collector in either Tennessee or North Carolina.

But it is the songs about murderers and outlaws, as well as those about the Civil War (Mr. Randolph prints forty-six of the former, and forty-three of the latter, so that the interest is fairly divided) that should most engage any reader's interest. For the purposes of this essay, I propose to discuss the songs about murderers and outlaws last, in the second section of this essay. The Civil War ballads, on the other hand, have been the most difficult to obtain—and they reflect more, I think, on the actual objective sequence of events, than on the peculiar psychology of the Ozark people. Many of them, as Randolph has pointed out, exist in both Northern and Southern versions, thus revealing how the "borderland of the South" represented by Southern and Central Missouri, North Arkansas, and the "Indian Nation," found itself fixed in its first great historic dilemma, by being divided in its loyalties during the struggle that still separates, psychologically, a great part of the nation.

As early as the 'fifties, German settlers began to make their appearance in some numbers in Northwestern Arkansas, as some

had settled in Little Rock—or along the Southwest Trail that led to Texas even earlier. These settlers were, for the most part, refugees from the convulsions that had torn Central Europe apart and had finally destroyed the shadowy ghost of the old Germanic Empire, in the wake of Napoleon's conquests, by 1806. In most of the German States, especially in those, which being Protestant, were but little allied in spirit to conservative, Catholic Austria or Bavaria, there had grown up, since the days of Frederick the Great (paralleling in time the American Revolution)—an intense desire for unity. Slavery was non-existent among these States, and serfdom had been abolished, I think, by Prussia as early as 1802. For the rest, Hanover tended in its policy to lean towards England; Saxony followed Prussia; Bavaria remained loyal to Austria. But as early as 1785, a league was formed among the German princes, comprehending Saxony, Hanover, and six other smaller dukedoms and principalities; and in 1806 on the eve of the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire, Napoleon himself formed the Confederation of the Rhine, which ultimately included all German-speaking peoples except the Austrians, the Prussians, the inhabitants of Brunswick, and those who lived in the dukedom of Hesse.

Union was the great dream of all the German exiles, who now began to come out of their ravaged countries and to move down from New York and Pennsylvania along the Ohio and down the Mississippi, in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. Cincinnati as well as St. Louis came early under their influence. Freedom from religious persecution was important, but union was still more important. Unlike their compatriots left at home, they were not easily stirred, either, to make wars on each other. The second great wave of German settlers, who came over after the Revolution of 1848 had been crushed, felt even more disposed towards union, and to a republican form of government. They brought with them special technical skills, a love for books and music, a higher degree of education, than the Ozarks could boast, as they moved into the Ozark country.

As early as 1853, as Professor Clarence Evans has shown in a valuable paper ("Memoirs, Letters and Diary Entries of German Settlers in Northwest Arkansas, 1853-1863" in *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, number 3, Autumn 1947)

two brothers, both born in Germany, with their wives, founded the Hermannsburg settlement, now known as Dutch Mills, where they became millers, farmers, and doctors. No doubt they were regarded by their neighbors with suspicion as the Civil War came on. That they did not favor secession, owned few negroes, spoke a peculiar jabber (soon corrupted from "Deutsch" to "Dutch"), were thrifty and neat, kept to themselves, made all the difference. They were subject, during the period that elapsed between the secession of Arkansas and the battle of Prairie Grove, to immeasurable annoyances, acts of vandalism—and finally escaped to join a brother-in-law in Missouri, in December 1863. This brother-in-law was serving with the Union army.

No doubt these people, who later compiled a rare book on their attitude, and their sufferings, at first enjoyed being in Arkansas. They were made to suffer, and finally to lose one of their number (the wife of the older brother, Johann Heinrich Hermann, died soon after their exodus), because the very same Ozark people who had at first been tolerant had turned against them. These hillmen were the people who in the first Arkansas Convention held to consider Secession, had refused to go out of the Union. They owned few, if any slaves. But they accepted the idea of Secession after Sumpter had been fired upon, out of a poetical and highly impractical desire for independence and self-government.

The German population of St. Louis, and of the hill country southward, had also been skillfully organized under General Nathaniel Lyon (a West Pointer from Connecticut) and Franz Sigel (a refugee from the Revolution of 1848) to oppose the Missouri State Government, in its attempt to get out of the Union. On August 10, 1861, Lyon and Sigel, with only about five thousand volunteers, opposed Sterling Price, who had recruited twice as many from his Missouri slave-holding neighbors, and who was aided by a few Arkansas troops, at Wilson's Creek, about ten miles southwest of Springfield—and Sigel's men had broken, and had run away. Lyon held his ground, but was killed on the field, and his men retreated, leaving Springfield to be captured the next day. Price's Confederates, actually not recognized as an official legal army, by the

Richmond government, but acting at a time when Missouri had not yet gone out of the Union, pressed on to the Missouri River Valley, and took Lexington, not far from Kansas City. But Fremont, sent to the spot by Lincoln, reorganized the Union forces sufficiently to drive them back to Springfield, and out of the State, by the winter of 1861-2.

Mr. Randolph prints in his second volume, no less than five ballads: "The Battle of Pea Ridge," "Manassa Junction," "I Fight Mit Sigel," "The Yankee Dutchman," "Joe Stiner," which with the "Dick German, The Cobbler" song in the first volume, are all markedly satirical towards the German in the Civil War. The attitude is perhaps best summed up in "The Yankee Dutchman":—

My heart is broken in von little bit,
I'll tell you all what for;
My sweetheart was a very patriotic girl,
She drove me off mit de war.

I fight for her de battle of de flag,
Just as brave as ever I can;
But a long time ago she nix remember me,
And ran off mit anudder man.

CHORUS:

Oh, Florrie, what makes you so unkind,
As to go mit Hans in Germany to dwell,
And to leave poor Schnapps behind.

We travelled all day when the rain came down,
So fast like Moses flood;
I slept all night mit my head upon a stump,
And I sunk down in de mud.

De nightmare came, and I catch him mighty bad,
I dreamt I slept with a ghost;
I woke in the morning frozen in the mud
Just stiff like one stone post.

At length we took one city in de South
We held it one whole year;
I got plenty of sauerkraut
And lots of lager beer.

I met one rebel lady in the street,
Just pretty as ever can be;
I made me gallant bow to her
And ach, she spit on me!

One should compare this reference, along with the references to "Feds and flopeared Dutch" in "The Pea Ridge Battle" and to "Tories and dirty Dutch, Hessians and Yankees bloody" in "Manassa Junction," and also with "I Fight Mit Sigel" in order to see that—for a considerable time in the Civil War—the Ozark people despised and ridiculed the Germans. Certainly, the Ozark attitude of suspicion of all "furriners"—an attitude which covers up a certain shyness, natural enough to a people rather remote and independent by nature—was intensified by the struggle incidental to the Civil War. The way in which the German was seen, as rather a figure of fun, in these ballads, may have come from the initial success of the Confederates at Pea Ridge [Wilson's Creek?]. Having myself examined a considerable collection of Confederate Civil War ballads in the Huntington Library, I can testify that it was only the early fights of that contest that were riotously celebrated. Before the war came to an end, most of the Confederate troops were singing dirges of the most doleful description. Many of these, too, appear in Mr. Randolph's collection. They were certainly later in date than the ones I mention.

II.

The Ozarkers' independence of spirit, their desire not to be "messed around with" by outsiders, their determination to be let alone and to govern themselves, rather than be governed, is even more manifest in the section which Mr. Randolph devotes to "Songs about Outlaws and Murderers."

He ascribes the popularity of these songs, much more easily obtainable than the Civil War ones (after all, the Ozarks people suffered about as much from the depredations of lawless bands of bushwackers and jayhawkers as did Professor Evans' Germans, and were left with little enough to boast about), to the natural belligerency of spirit frequently manifested in the region.

But this is not the only reason. Pride of place is justly given to the "Cole Younger" and the "Jesse James" ballad, with its contempt for the betrayer, Robert Ford:—

It was Robert Ford, the dirty little coward,
I wonder how he does feel;
For he ate of Jesse's bread, and he slept in Jesse's bed,
Then he laid poor Jesse in his grave.

What was the reason why the Ozark people should glorify such a cold-blooded killer as was Jesse James, and his bandit accomplice, Cole Younger, so that the former, at least, appeared to them like a veritable Robin Hood—"he robbed the rich and gave to the poor?" No doubt, the reason was highly complex. The James boys did not begin their career of banditry till after the Civil War. Unquestionably, they often hid out in the Ozarks wilderness, between their exploits. They were generous with their stolen money, to many a poor Ozark family. They, quite possibly, magnified their own early service under Quantrill's guerillas, on the Kansas border into a life-long devotion to the lost cause of the Confederacy which may have been, in heart at least, sincere—for no historian can say to this day just what side Charles Quantrill really was on! Moreover, the James boys—and their like—especially appealed to the Ozark people precisely because the mountain folk, after espousing the cause of the Confederacy out of a poetic desire to attain independence than for any better reason, had gone back to the Union, only to find themselves again let down by the Carpet-baggers. Let us remember that the year 1871, when Pulaski County, out of sheer hatred for Powell Clayton and his regime, refused to grant lands for the establishment of a State University, but Washington County gave the land required, was also the year when Pope County (also in the Ozarks) flared up in open warfare against Clayton's militia and one of his sheriffs.

To be an outlaw, even a murderer, was in those days of Reconstruction, not so bad a thing. There could be heroism in it, when to most of the hillmen, any form of government, except self-government, had become despicable. Moreover, the James boys were respectable in other ways. Jesse James, I have read, always went to church on Sundays, and his older

brother, Frank, was, in his later years, a Baptist elder. If they swore or used dirty talk, they presumably did not do so before ladies.

Mr. Randolph is perhaps right in saying that the Ozarks toleration for outlawry and killing, did not extend to horse-thieves and other petty villains. His main evidence on this point seems to me to be the very remarkable "Horse-Traders' Song" which is so good and so unique in many respects that I give it without comment:

It's do you know those horse-traders?
It's do you know their plan?
It's do you know those horse-traders?
It's do you know their plan?
Their plan is for to snide you,
And get whatever they can:
I've been around the world.

They'll send their women from house to house
To git whatever they can;
They'll send their women from house to house
To git whatever they can;
Oh yonder she comes a runnin', boys,
With a hog-jaw in each hand;
I've been around the world.

It's look in front of our horses, boys,
Oh yonder comes a man;
It's look in front of our horses, boys,
Oh yonder comes a man;
If I don't git to snide him,
I won't get nary a dram,
I've been around the world.

Oh, now we stop for supper, boys,
We've found a creek at last;
Oh, now we stop for supper, boys,
We've found a creek at last;
Oh, now we stop for supper, boys,
To turn out on the grass,
I've been around the world.

Go saddle up your snides, boys,
And tie 'em to the rack;
Go saddle up your snides, boys,

And tie 'em to the rack;
The first man that gets 'em
Will pay us to take them back;
I've been around the world.

Come on now, boys,
Let's go git a drink of gin;
Come on now, boys,
Let's go git a drink of gin;
For yonder comes the women, boys,
To bring us to camp again,
I've been around the world.

III

To summarize this argument, the Randolph collection is one that should be read by future Arkansas historians, as a vivid and rewarding experience, often more indicative of the actual temper of the people under stress and strain, than pages of impersonally phrased war reports, or reams of official correspondence, or legislative acts can ever be. Without a sense of the human element involved in making history, all history—however well documented—is worthless. Voltaire, himself an excellent historian, said that history was a pack of tricks played by the dead upon the living. Emerson said that it was the lengthened shadow of a man; Carlyle, and others, seem to have held that what mattered after all was the deeds of great men, rather than what the people lived through—but Mr. Randolph's anonymous authors give us the true point of view of the people. To them history is grim tragedy or sentimental pathos:

'Twas just before the last fierce fight,
Two soldiers drew a rein;
With a parting word and a touch of a hand,
They might never meet again.

One had blue eyes and curly hair
Eighteen scarce a month ago;
The other was tall, dark, stern, and proud
With haggard eyes to show.

They rode along to the crest of the hill,
While the cannon shot and shell,
While volley after volley came,
To cheer them as they fell.

Among the dead and dying lay
A boy with curly hair;
And close by his side lay a tall dark man
Who was dead beside him there.

I have slightly modified, for the sake of shortening, this particular text. It can only be matched by the following:

In eighteen hundred and sixty-one,
Hurrah, hurrah,
In eighteen hundred and sixty-one,
Hurrah, hurrah,
In eighteen hundred and sixty-one,
The great Rebellion is just begun;
We'll all drink stone-blind;
Johnny, come fill up the bowl!

In eighteen hundred and sixty-five,
Hurrah, hurrah,
In eighteen hundred and sixty-five,
Hurrah, hurrah,
In eighteen hundred and sixty-five,
We'll git Abe Lincoln dead or alive,
We'll all drink stone-blind;
Johnny, come fill up the bowl!

"Brief is the choice, yet endless" between history considered as a fate that may befall us all, and which must be met with resolution befitting such dignity as we may muster, and history become relentless madness and vengeance. Both sides are fairly presented by Mr. Randolph. The historians, this collection of folk-balladry tells us, should write not only from the documents themselves, but from the heart.⁴

⁴All quotations in this essay are taken from Randolph's *Ozarks Folk-songs*.

MISSOURI'S SECESSIONIST GOVERNMENT, 1861-1865

BY ARTHUR ROY KIRKPATRICK*

One of the least known, yet most interesting chapters in the history of Missouri is the story of the state government which was elected in August, 1860. It became a fugitive government-in-exile following the Battle of Boonville, and was outlawed by the State Convention in July, 1861. A number of accounts have been written of its peregrinations, but these have varied greatly in many details, even as to the most basic facts.

Following the Battle of Boonville on June 17, 1861, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and his troops of the State Guard began a retreat to southwest Missouri where they hoped to make contact with Confederate forces under General Ben McCulloch. General Sterling Price left Lexington for McCulloch's camp about the same time.

On July 5, Jackson defeated a Federal force under Colonel Franz Sigel near Carthage and the following day made contact with Price and McCulloch. The state forces went into camp at Cowskin Prairie, in McDonald County, where General Price spent the next six weeks reorganizing and equipping his troops to take the field against General Nathaniel Lyon.¹

Meanwhile, on July 12, Governor Jackson left Cowskin Prairie for Richmond, Virginia, where he hoped to secure financial and military aid from the Confederate government. He was accompanied by former United States Senator David R.

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¹Thomas L. Sned, *The Fight for Missouri from the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon* (New York, Scribner's 1888), pp. 239-243.

Atchison, his aide. On the 19th he was in Little Rock, Arkansas, where he was given an official welcome by Governor Henry Rector,³ and on the 22nd he reached Memphis, Tennessee. There he consulted with Confederate General Leonidas Polk. General Polk agreed to send General Gideon Pillow into Missouri by way of New Madrid if the governor would accompany his forces. General Pillow's "Army of Liberation" occupied New Madrid on July 28, but by then Governor Jackson was in Richmond,⁴ having decided that his presence there was essential to Missouri's future welfare and position in the Confederacy.

While in Richmond, the governor became personally acquainted with President Jefferson Davis, and received assurances of continued military aid. He was also promised substantial financial support as soon as money for the purpose was made available by the Confederate congress. The president had conceived a dislike and distrust for Jackson following the agreement between General Price and General William S. Harney on May 14, 1861,⁵ but the governor now managed to convince Davis of his honesty and loyalty to the southern cause.⁶

In the meantime, other Confederate state officials in Missouri were having troubles. The whereabouts of Secretary of State B. F. Massey at this time is unknown, but State Treasurer Alfred W. Morrison had been captured at Hermann on June 18 and returned to Jefferson City as a prisoner. Since no money was found in his possession, he was released after turning his books and papers over to Colonel Henry Boernstein, the Federal commander there.⁷ Although Attorney General J. Proctor Knott remained in Jefferson City, he refused

³(Little Rock) *Arkansas True Democrat*, July 25, 1861.

⁴(Marshall) *Texas Republican*, August 10, 1861.

⁵On May 14, 1861, General Sterling Price, and General William S. Harney, commanding U. S. troops in St. Louis, signed an agreement that no more U. S. troops would enter the state, and that the Mo. State Guard under Price would maintain peace in the state, protect property of Unionists, and resist any Confederate move into the state. Governor Jackson had conceived this as necessary strategy to gain time for arming the state but Davis, whom Jackson had already asked for Confederate troops, considered it a complete breach of faith with himself.

⁶Thomas C. Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy" (unpublished memoir in Reynolds papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, 47.

⁷(Columbia) *Missouri Statesman*, June 28, 1861.

to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and was held a prisoner.⁷ Lieutenant-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds had been in Richmond since about the middle of June, but was back in Nashville, Tennessee, by July 8.⁸

On August 5, Governor Jackson was back on Missouri soil after a trip by rail from Richmond to Memphis. That day he issued from New Madrid a proclamation declaring Missouri an independent and sovereign state by virtue of the sweeping powers granted him by the general assembly in the "Rebellion Act" of May 10, 1861. This declaration was of doubtful validity, and the Confederate government recognized the independence of the state only after the passage of an ordinance of secession by the general assembly at Neosho in October. Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds had already issued a similar provisional declaration of independence from General Pillow's camp on July 31.⁹

Jackson and Reynolds were both in southeast Missouri at this time, but apparently they never met. They either failed to learn of each other's presence, or else Reynolds deliberately avoided the governor, for he gave General M. Jeff Thompson orders directly contrary to those already issued by Jackson, and signed himself "Acting Governor of Missouri."¹⁰

Early in August the Confederate congress appropriated one million dollars for the use of Missouri troops cooperating with those of the Confederacy.¹¹ The governor learned of this on August 8,¹² and after making arrangements with General Polk in Memphis for requisitioning supplies for the Missouri State

⁷(Little Rock) *Arkansas State Gazette*, July 6, 1861.

⁸*Ibid.*, July 20, 1861.

⁹Record and Pension Office, War Dept., *Organization and Status of Missouri Troops (Union and Confederate) in Service During the Civil War* (Washington, G.P.O., 1902), p. 242.

¹⁰Letter, T. C. Reynolds to M. J. Thompson August 10, 1861, quoted in letter, M. J. Thompson to G. Pillow, August 11, 1861, U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, G.P.O., 1880-1902), Series I, III, 643. (Hereafter cited as O.R.R.) Letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. C. Fremont, New Madrid, August 15, 1861, O.R.R., Series I, III, 449-50.

¹¹Act of August 6, 1861, O.R.R., Series I, LIII, 721.

¹²Letter, C. F. Jackson to E. C. Cabell, Memphis, Tenn., August 8, 1861, O.R.R., Series I, III, 639.

Guard under the terms of the appropriation, he left for General Price's camp at Springfield on the 13th.¹²

General Price, with the help of McCulloch had defeated Lyon at Oak Hill (Wilson's Creek) on August 10, and five days later marched north toward the Missouri River. The governor caught up with him on the line of march and they arrived at Lexington on September 12.

Following victory in the Battle of Lexington on September 18-20, Jackson issued a proclamation calling the general assembly to meet in special session at Neosho on October 21. He also commissioned E. Carrington Cabell and Thomas L. Snead to negotiate an offensive-defensive treaty of alliance with the Confederacy, and sent them to Richmond.¹³

On August 20, the Confederate congress had authorized the negotiation of a treaty with Missouri. It had also provided for the admission of Missouri as a Confederate state as soon as the provisional constitution was ratified by the "legally constituted authorities of said state." Jackson's government was specifically recognized as the "legally elected and regularly constituted government of the people and State of Missouri."¹⁴

The special session of the general assembly convened on Monday, October 21 at Neosho. One week later it passed an ordinance of secession with but one dissenting vote, and an act ratifying the Provisional Confederate Constitution. On the 29th the members adjourned to meet on October 31, at the courthouse in Cassville, Missouri. At this latter place a large number of bills were adopted, including one appropriating ten million dollars "now in the treasury or which may hereafter be paid into the treasury" to repel invasion and to maintain the sovereignty of the state. Authorization was made for issuing ten million dollars in state defense bonds, and delegates to

¹²Letter C. F. Jackson to J. Davis, Memphis, Tenn., August 18, 1861, *O.R.R.*, Series I, III, 646.

¹³Commission, Executive Dept. State of Missouri, Lexington, Missouri, September 26, 1861, *O.R.R.* Series I, LIII, 751.

¹⁴Act of August 20, 1861, *O.R.R.* Series IV, I, 576-577.

the Confederate congress were chosen.¹⁶ The assembly adjourned on November 7, after adopting a resolution to meet again at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862.

Whether the Neosho-Cassville session of the legislature had a quorum present and was therefore legally able to act for the state has long been a matter of controversy, with the weight of opinion resting with the negative. Contemporary reports differ on the matter, and the truth, perhaps, will never be known unless some other source of information comes to light. The important fact is that the session and its acts were considered legal by the Confederate government, and that Missouri was admitted to the Confederacy on the strength of its legality on November 28, 1861.¹⁷

Governor Jackson returned to New Madrid shortly after the adjournment of the legislature, where he remained with General Thompson's troops until about the middle of December, helping to recruit and organize additional companies of the state guard.

With things in southeast Missouri pretty well to his satisfaction, he left for Memphis on December 13; and after a conference with General Albert S. Johnston, he made a pleasant but uneventful trip by steamer to New Orleans. There he arranged for printing the bonds authorized by the legislature at Cassville.¹⁸ At the same time he secured a large number of old guns, rifles and muskets, which he had retooled for use by troops. He even reported that six young ladies of the city were raising money to send a sword to General Price.¹⁹

General Thompson went to New Orleans to meet the governor. After a short period of conferences and sightseeing,

¹⁶*Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature called together by a Proclamation of C. F. Jackson, begun and held at the Town of Neosho, Newton County, Missouri, on the Twenty-First Day of October, Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-One.* (Jefferson City, Foster, 1865), 8, 10; Letter, C. F. Jackson to J. Davis, Cassville, Missouri, November 5, 1861, O.R.R. Series I, LIII, 754-755.

¹⁷Act of November 28, 1861, O.R.R. Series I, LIII, 758.

¹⁸Letter, M. J. Thompson to S. Price, New Madrid, January 1, 1862, O.R.R. Series I, VIII, 727. These bonds are still turning up and there have been recent attempts to have some of them redeemed by the state treasurer.

¹⁹Letter, C. F. Jackson to S. Price, New Orleans, December 30, 1861, O.R.R. Series I, V II, 725-726.

they left for Missouri on January 11 with the supplies, the guns, the ten million dollars in bonds, and, it is presumed, General Price's sword. Upon his return, General Thompson used some of the bonds to pay his troops for the first time in several months.²⁰

In order that more funds might be available for use by the Missouri government, the Confederate congress on January 27, 1862, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to advance to the state the sum of one million dollars to be used in paying its troops and purchasing necessary supplies. Missouri was to deposit an equal amount in state bonds with the Confederate treasury until a final settlement was made between the two governments.²¹ Another million dollars was made available on similar terms on February 15.²²

Just before Christmas, 1861, President Davis sent word to the governor of his anxiety to have the Missouri troops quickly reorganized and tendered to the Confederacy so that general officers could be appointed for them. By this means, he said, their efficiency would be increased, and "they will be relieved from the anomalous position they now occupy as militia of the Confederate States without being a part of their organized Army."²³

Governor Jackson and General Price applied themselves to this problem, and by January 17, 1862, the latter was able to report to the Secretary of War, Judah P. Benjamin, that he had already procured two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two light batteries of artillery for regular Confederate service. This work continued until the defeat at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, on March 7, 1862, after which General Price and his Missouri division in the Confederate army were sent east of the Mississippi, and the governor remained with the remnants of the state guard, now under the command of General M. M. Parsons. They also fought in the Battle of Corinth, but returned to Arkansas in July.

²⁰Unpublished diary of General M. Jeff Thompson, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

²¹Act of January 27, 1862, *O.R.R.* Series IV, I, 882.

²²Act of February 15, 1862, *O.R.R.* Series IV, I, 939.

²³Letter, J. Davis to C. F. Jackson, Richmond, December 21, 1861, *O.R.R.* Series I, VIII, 717.

The one notable event during the period preceding the Battle of Pea Ridge was the meeting of the general assembly at New Madrid on Monday, March 3, 1862, pursuant to the resolution adopted at Cassville. On that day a few of the legislators appeared, but Governor Jackson and others who were scheduled to come by steamer from Memphis did not show up. General Thompson had those present formally convene, and then he adjourned the session to meet at Caruthersville on March 6. The general wrote Governor Jackson that Federal troops were close enough to New Madrid to make the scheduled meeting hazardous, and told him of the proposed session at Caruthersville.²⁴

This letter was sent down the river by a committee of legislators who were to stop the governor and his party from coming on to New Madrid. Governor Jackson, however, was with Price at Pea Ridge, and no further session of the 21st General Assembly was held.

The movements of Governor Jackson following the Battle of Corinth until shortly before his death are more difficult to trace than the story up to this point. Some time during 1862 he purchased a home in Texas, and moved his family there,²⁵ perhaps in Red River County, where his wife died on July 5, 1864.

It has commonly been assumed that Governor Jackson himself set up a temporary state capital at Marshall, Texas; but the evidence is against this belief. When Thomas C. Reynolds became governor upon the death of Jackson, he reported that the records and officers of the state government were scattered throughout Texas and Arkansas. He found the largest share of the records at Camden, Arkansas,²⁶ which suggests that such capital as Jackson had maintained must have been there, or nearby at Little Rock where he is known to have spent his last days.

²⁴*Thompson Diary*, 62-65. Letter, M. J. Thompson to C. F. Jackson, New Madrid, March 3, 1862, O.R.R. Series I, VIII, 765.

²⁵(Little Rock) *Arkansas Patriot*, December 11, 1862.

²⁶Letter, T. C. Reynolds to S. Price, Camden, Arkansas, May 25, 1863, O.R.R. Series I, LIII, 871-872; Statement of Reynolds in clipping, origin unknown, found in *Reynolds Papers*, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, dated Camden, Arkansas, May 27, 1863.

Jackson is known to have been in Marshall in July, 1862, when he met in conference with the governors of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, to consider uniting the resources and energies of their respective states.⁷⁷ However, no mention of any other visit to Marshall by either Jackson or Reynolds, prior to the summer of 1863, is made in any issue of the Marshall papers now known to be in existence, nor in any other contemporary source which has been examined.

Governor Jackson apparently spent the next six weeks with his family; but early in September he left for Little Rock to help draw up plans for a campaign into Missouri to be launched in the fall or winter.

The governor was reported to have suffered from cancer for a number of years, and about November 1 his condition became worse. He lived long enough to make his will and to see his family who were summoned from Texas, but died on the evening of December 7, 1862, in a boarding house just north of the Arkansas River across from the capital city. He was buried in Mount Holly cemetery in Little Rock,⁷⁸ and after the war was reinterred in the Sappington family cemetery near Arrow Rock.

Upon the death of Governor Jackson, Thomas C. Reynolds, who had been in Columbia, South Carolina, since December, 1861, became the head of Missouri's refugee government. He hurried to Richmond early in January, 1863, where he conferred with President Davis and other Confederate leaders.

In March, the new governor left for the West. He stopped off in Mississippi to interview the Missouri troops, and then went to Shreveport to confer with General E. Kirby Smith, commanding general of the Trans-Mississippi Department. After spending a few days with General Smith, he started for Little Rock where he planned to re-establish the state government. At Camden, Arkansas, however, he found most of the state papers and records. He decided to establish his capital there, temporarily at least, away from the social life and confusion of Little Rock. He summoned the state officials who

⁷⁷(Marshall) *Texas Republican*, undated supplement issued between Sept. 6 and 13, 1862.

⁷⁸(Little Rock) *Arkansas Patriot*, December 11, 1862.

were scattered in Arkansas and Texas, and began the long arduous task of sorting and systematizing official records as a prelude to determining future policies.

One of his most pressing problems involved finances. Legality of claims against the state, the order in which they should be paid, and possible sources of revenue all demanded attention. Creditors were clamoring for payment and seemed to expect the miracle of immediate satisfaction. Legal claims amounting to some two million dollars were finally recognized, with only a small portion of this sum covered by Confederate notes in the treasury. A system of priorities was set up with first payment going to private soldiers in the army. Much of the money was expected to come from the Confederate government which was officially liable for the actual military expenses.²⁰

By June, Reynolds felt that affairs of state were well enough in hand for him to visit General Price in Little Rock, and by the 27th of the month he had moved his capital to that city and was issuing official executive orders from there.²¹

The fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in July, 1863, placed the entire Mississippi River under Federal control, and cut the Confederacy in two, leaving the states of Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri, most of Louisiana, and the Indian Territory in virtual isolation from the government and armies east of the river. Recognizing that political as well as military power would have to be exercised locally in the Trans-Mississippi Department, President Davis suggested that General Smith take the western governors completely into his confidence, and together they might make the west self-sufficient, prevent the secession of the western states from the Confederacy, and successfully carry on the war until such time as the Mississippi could be retaken.²² The General called a conference of the governors of the four western states, which met at Marshall, Texas, August 15-18, 1863.

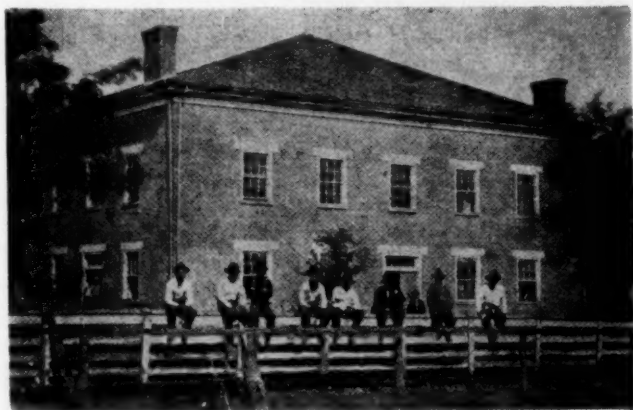
²⁰Clipping, origin unknown, dated Camden, Arkansas, May 27, 1863, *Reynolds Papers*; Letter, T. C. Reynolds to S. Price, Camden, Arkansas, May 25, 1863, O.R.R. Series I, LIII, 871-872.

²¹S. O. No. 12, Executive Department of Missouri, Little Rock, Arkansas, June 27, 1863, O.R.R. Series I, XXIII, Part II, 889-890.

²²Letter, J. Davis to E. K. Smith, Richmond, July 14, 1863, O.R.R., Series I, XXII, Part II, 925-927.



Missouri's First "Confederate Capitol," Masonic Hall, Neosho, Mo. The "Confederate" legislature of Missouri met here, October 21-29, 1861, to pass an act of secession from the Union, pursuant to Governor Jackson's proclamation.



Missouri's Second "Confederate Capitol," Barry County Courthouse, Cassville, Mo. The "Confederate" legislature of Missouri also met here, October 31-November 7, 1861, to enact further legislation. In this building Governor Jackson is said to have signed the act of secession.

They recommended that General Smith exercise executive powers in the department, with safeguards against interference with the states, and established a Committee of Public Safety with Governor Reynolds as chairman. It was to organize committees of correspondence in each county and parish to cooperate with itself and the departmental commander in the war effort.²² Governor Reynolds played a leading part in the deliberations of the conference. It was an indication of his standing with his colleagues that he was chosen chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, which made him, next to General Smith, the most important official in the Trans-Mississippi Department.

After spending a few days in Shreveport with General Smith, the governor left for Little Rock, but had only reached Arkadelphia, Arkansas, when he received word of the surrender of the Arkansas capital on September 10 by General Price. This was a blow to Reynolds who had so recently brought order out of the chaos of his state government and its records; but he set up a temporary camp at Arkadelphia until he could locate a new site to establish his executive offices. He made a temporary transfer to Washington, Arkansas, where the Little Rock government had been moved.²³

Late in October he returned to Shreveport, planning to establish himself near the headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department. After considerable effort he found it impossible to obtain suitable quarters because of the extent of General Smith's needs and the lack of healthful locations in the area.²⁴

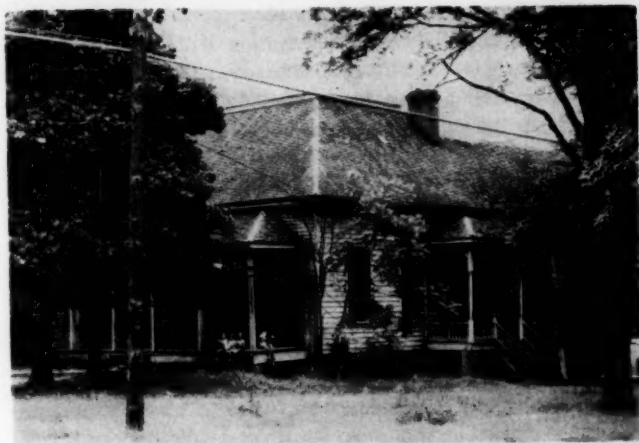
On November 5, 1863, he sent his officers and such records as he now possessed forty miles westward to Marshall, Texas, and followed them himself a few days later.²⁵ He had been favorably impressed by the little city during his visit in August, and was now determined that it should be the state capital until he could return in triumph to Jefferson City.

²²Proceedings of Governors' Conference, Marshall, Texas, August 15-18, 1863, *O.R.R. Series I, XXII, Part II*, 1005.

²³Reynolds, "General Price and the Confederacy," 132.

²⁴Letter, T. C. Reynolds to S. Price, Marshall, Texas, December 4, 1863, *O.R.R. Series I, LIII*, 918.

²⁵Letter, T. C. Reynolds to S. Price, Marshall, Texas, December 4, 1863, *O.R.R. Series I, LIII*, 918.



The Missouri Confederate Capitol in Marshall, Texas.

Courtesy Dallas Morning News



The Missouri Confederate Governor's Mansion in Marshall, Texas.

Courtesy Dallas Morning News

Marshall was then a town of about two thousand inhabitants, located near the head of navigation of the Red River and Caddo Lake. It was already the headquarters for several bureaus of General Smith's command, but the governor was able to find accommodations among its friendly and hospitable people.

At the corner of South Bolivar and Crockett streets he leased the home of Judge Asa Willie as a capitol building. Willie was then in Austin as a member of the Texas Supreme Court. A short time later Reynolds rented the spacious home of Mrs. Mary Key for \$225 in Confederate notes.²⁸ This home became the governor's residence and the focal point for all Missouri Confederates.

Once settled in Marshall, the governor found many problems to engage his attention. As chairman of the Committee of Public Safety he was in frequent communication with General Smith and President Davis on questions of civil government. He suggested that a branch of the treasury department be established in the West, but Davis turned down the suggestion because of a shortage of trained treasury personnel in Richmond.²⁹ He concerned himself with financial problems on both state and national levels, and asked General Smith to join him in requesting that the Confederate congress provide for a war department with full powers to act in the Trans-Mississippi states. Smith agreed to this in theory, but suggested that the governor himself was the only man to whom Davis would be willing to delegate the great powers to be exercised by the head of such a department. Reynolds then dropped the idea, for, as he told Smith, he was much too busy as governor; and he believed himself constitutionally incapable of holding a Confederate government position while serving as governor of a state.

Reynolds did accompany General Sterling Price on his ill-fated Missouri campaign in the autumn of 1864, hoping to be

²⁸A photostat of this lease is now in the possession of Mrs. J. F. Lentz, Marshall, Texas. The "Capitol" is still standing, but the "Governor's Mansion" was wrecked early this year to make way for a lumber yard.

²⁹Letter, J. Davis to T. C. Reynolds, Richmond, December 10, 1863, Dunbar Rowland, editor, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist His Letters, Papers, and Speeches* (New York, Little and Ives, 1923), VI, 130.

inaugurated in Jefferson City. The large local Federal garrison made this impossible, however, and after the Battle of Westport on October 23, Reynolds returned to Marshall.

Marshall remained the seat of the fugitive government until May, 1865, when, after a third governors' conference called by General Smith to consider the question of continued resistance, the general surrendered his command, the last organized Confederate troops to lay down their arms.

After the surrender, Reynolds, with a number of other Missourians crossed the border into Mexico, determined then to live his life in exile.

In the spring of 1868, however, he returned to St. Louis and resumed the practice of law. On May 26, 1869, the story was completed when he returned to Governor McClurg the Great Seal of the state, taken from Jefferson City in 1861, and in his possession since 1863. He expressed a hope that it would be an "augury of the speedy oblivion of past strife, and of the complete restoration of fraternal feeling" in the state.²²

²²Letter, T. C. Reynolds to J. W. McClurg, St. Louis, May 26, 1869, *Reynolds Papers*, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

THE SWEDES OF LINN COUNTY, MISSOURI

BY EMORY LINDQUIST*

When the census enumerators came to Linn and Macon counties in Missouri in 1870, they soon discovered that they were in the midst of a Swedish settlement of considerable size. Undoubtedly there was some difficulty in interpreting their mission because the majority of the 242 Swedes in those two counties had arrived recently and were not yet familiar with the language of the land. These Swedish people, concentrated largely in the Bucklin area, formed a considerable part of this nationality which numbered only 2302 in the entire state in that year.¹

Swedish immigration to Missouri never assumed the proportions that it took in the neighboring state of Kansas. The earlier settlement of Missouri, which made land less readily available than in Kansas, was an important factor. Moreover, the *First Report of the Board of Immigration of Missouri* indicated that it seemed unlikely that the state could expect many immigrants from Norway, Sweden, or Denmark. It declared that it was "to the zone where the vine and corn grow that we must look as the proper source of immigration to Missouri. Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland will contribute during the next decade a larger ratio to the population of this state than any other."²

While the Board of Immigration in Missouri seemed indifferent to the possibilities of Swedish settlement, a variety of forces were at work in Kansas that made for extensive Swedish

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¹*Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population Vol. II. Characteristics of the Population: Part IV* (Washington, 1943), p. 329; *Ninth Census of the United States: 1870. The Statistics of the Population of the United States, Vol. I* (Washington, 1872), p. 362.

²*Missouri, First Report of the Board of Immigration, 1865-66*, quoted in Florence Edith Janson, *The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930* (Chicago, 1931), p. 248.

immigration there. As early as 1855, a prospectus issued by Governor Andrew H. Reeder of the Kansas Territory, inviting immigrants to come to Kansas, had fallen into the hands of a Swede, John A. Johnson, who lived in Galesburg, Ill. Johnson settled in the Blue Valley, near Cleburne, Kans., that year, and soon a sizeable Swedish colony was found there. Moreover, the influential Swedish-American newspaper, *Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya*, urged Swedish immigrants to go to Kansas. In 1857, the editor featured Kansas and Nebraska in an article entitled "Some Words to Recently Arrived Immigrants and Others Who Are Seeking Their Luck in America," pointing out that land in Illinois and Iowa was too high in cost and that it would be better to go to Kansas and Nebraska.^a The colonization scheme of Dr. C. H. Gran, of Andover, Ill., in 1858, the organization of a Swedish Lutheran church in the Mariadahl community near Cleburne, Kans., in 1863, and the activities of the agricultural companies, especially in the Smoky Valley in central Kansas in 1868-69, promoted Swedish immigration to Kansas.⁴ In the census of 1870 there were 4954 Swedes in Kansas in contrast with 2303 in Missouri. The largest number of Swedish-born residents in Missouri was reached in 1900 when 5692 lived there. The greatest number in Kansas was 17,096 in 1890.⁵

The Swedish settlement at Bucklin, Mo., represents a pattern that can be duplicated in many states, but a unique feature is identified with it and explains why there was such a concentration of Swedes there by 1870. The background is found in the religious developments in Sweden during the 1860's. The *läsare* (pietistic) movement, which emphasized a greater freedom in matters of worship and doctrine than the official policy of the State Church of Sweden, was gaining in numbers and influence. There was a certain restlessness, a desire to find expression for

^a*Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya*, July 14, 1857.

⁴Dr. C. H. Gran's plan for a Swedish colony in Kansas is described in *Plan for Dr. C. H. Gran's Skandinaviska Kansas-Coloni, July, 1857. Bihang till Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya* (Galesburg, 1857), 4 pages.

⁵*Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population Vol. II. Characteristics of the Population, Part III* (Washington, 1943), p. 31; Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas—A Demographic and Sociological Study* (Topeka, 1936), p. 51; Nelson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 264.

religious convictions, a great missionary zeal among the followers of this group. A key figure in the movement was Carl Rosenius, who as editor and contributor to the religious journal, *Pietisten*, was read widely and gained many supporters. In the province of Värmland, Pastor Olof Olsson, twenty-eight year old Lutheran clergyman, Upsala University graduate, and former student at Leipzig University, was a rallying point for these läsare. In January, 1869, he decided to come to Kansas, and in May, 1869, he left with approximately 250 parishoners, friends and fellow believers for the Lindsborg community in the Smoky Valley of central Kansas.*

The career of Pastor Olof Olsson and his relationship to the Swedish settlement in Missouri might have been exceedingly remote if the plans for the immigration to central Kansas had been carried out completely. Quite a different pattern developed. When Olof Olsson and his party came to Glasgow, Scotland, they learned that it would be necessary to cross the Atlantic Ocean in two ships. It was agreed that they should proceed in the best manner possible from Glasgow to the new colony in Kansas. One group proceeded directly from New York to Chicago and then to Lindsborg arriving there about Midsummer Day. The other group, larger in numbers, never came to Kansas. They formed the basis for the large Swedish settlement in the Bucklin area.†

The developments which brought the Swedes to Linn County are associated with construction work on the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Two of the earliest Swedes in Bucklin, N. S. Ornsdorf and a man named Johnson, were employed by this road. Ornsdorf and Johnson were in Bucklin in 1868. Johnson sent Ornsdorf to Chicago in order to recruit railroad laborers. His Swedish nationality enabled him to make direct contact with his countrymen, and upon arrival in Chicago, he met the second group of the Olsson party. He persuaded them to come to Missouri in order to make some money before settling

*Gunnar Westin, *Emigranterna och Kyrkan: Brev Från och Till Svenskar i Amerika, 1849-1892* (Stockholm, 1932), pp. 215-216.

†Weinberg Letters, Bethany College Collection, Olof Olsson to C. W. Weinberg, Sept. 11, 1869; Alfred Bergin, *Lindsborg Bidrag Till Svenskarnas Och Den Lutherska Kyrkans Historia i Smoky Hill River Dalen* (Rock Island, 1909), p. 95.

permanently in Central Kansas.* The plan seemed reasonable. Pastor Olsson approved the arrangement with the understanding that they should come to Lindsborg in the early autumn.⁹

When the group from Värmland and some from other provinces arrived in Bucklin, a few Swedes were already there in addition to Orndorf and Johnson. The Nils Palms, Swan Nelsons, Nels Peter Engberg, Olof Engberg, and his young son, Pete, had come shortly before the arrival of the large group in the latter part of June. The Engbergs and some of their friends lived in an old depot which had been moved to Bucklin from Hannibal, Mo.¹⁰ The size of the Swedish party that arrived in Bucklin in 1869 can be determined from the church records. The individual entries record the names of 103 persons who came directly from Sweden to Bucklin in 1869. In addition, there is a record of four children who were later confirmed in the church, whose date of arrival was 1869 although their parents never joined the congregation. On the basis of actual records and supporting evidence from names without dates, it is reasonable to believe that approximately 135 people came to Bucklin in the early summer of 1869.¹¹

The identification of the group that came to Bucklin in 1869 with Olof Olsson's plans for a large colony in Kansas is clearly established by Olsson's letters and the church records. Olsson wrote to a friend in Sweden on September 11, 1869, that many in his party from Sunnemo, Ransäter, and other places in Värmland went to Missouri to work on the railroad before coming to Lindsborg.¹² Ninety-one individuals who held membership in the Swedish-Lutheran Church north of Bucklin came from the province of Värmland. Ransäter and Sunnemo furnished the largest number with several from Våse, Råda, Nyed, and Alster.¹³ All but three of the thirty-three charter members of the church were from Värmland and all but Mrs.

⁹Emil Lund, *Iowa-Konferensens af Augustana-Synoden Historia* (Rock Island, 1916), p. 681.

¹⁰Weinberg Letters, Olof Olsson to C. W. Weinberg, Sept. 11, 1869.

¹¹Interview with Pete Engberg, Aug. 7, 1950. Lund, *op. cit.*, p. 681. *Membership Records of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Bucklin, Linn County, Missouri.*

¹²*Membership Records of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church.*

¹³Weinberg Letters, Olof Olsson to C. W. Weinberg, Sept. 11, 1869.

¹⁴*Membership Records, Bethlehem Lutheran Church.*

Per Person, Mrs. Olof Larson, and Mrs. John Nyvall arrived in Bucklin in 1869. The last three came in 1870.¹⁴

The arrival of more than one hundred immigrants in June, 1869, created problems of housing and living until cabins and some type of dwellings could be constructed. Many of the Swedes lived in the Methodist Church in Bucklin which was under construction or recently completed at that time. Curtains were hung across sections to give some degree of privacy to families. The records indicate that Olsson's party went largely as family units to America. Where the records are complete as to names and date of arrival in Bucklin, the evidence shows that there were twenty-four family units and ten single men. Thirty-six children are listed. The Jan Nilson family included three daughters, 14, 10, and 5 and two sons, 10, and 8, and that of Johannes Johanson Backman, two daughters, 12 and 6, and two sons, 10 and 8. Olof Anderson Bergstroms had a one-year-old daughter and A. G. Ericsons had a son of the same age. The first child of Swedish parents in Bucklin was born in the Methodist Church. Meals were cooked in stoves outside the church and shared in common.¹⁵

The intent of the Bucklin friends of Olof Olsson to come to Lindsborg following three months work on the railroad was never realized. In September, Olsson lamented the change in the course of events, describing the situation to a friend in Sweden. The Swedes had purchased land north and south of Bucklin and had decided to stay there permanently. He regretted their decision because homestead land was still available in Kansas.¹⁶ In May of the following year Olsson again expressed his disappointment: "What has been for me the most disturbing experience is that the majority of my party stayed in Missouri where they bought railroad land and paid \$10 an acre. Here (at Lindsborg) they could have acquired the most beautiful land without wooded areas to be cleared at the rate

¹⁴*Membership Records, Bethlehem Lutheran Church; Lund, op. cit., p. 682.*

¹⁵*Membership Records, Bethlehem Lutheran Church.* The use of the Methodist Church by the Swedes is well-known. Pete Engberg who was in Bucklin at the time, Mrs. John Bachman, Anna Skoglund, Mrs. Fred Olson, Mrs. Mamie Holmlund, and others, all descendants of people in the party, give identical information on this point.

¹⁶*Weinberg Letters, Olof Olsson to C. W. Weinberg, Sept. 11, 1869.*

of \$20 for 160 acres." He attributed the change in the pattern to greedy land agents (*rofsgriga agenterna*), who "fooled" (*lockat*) them to purchase this land, and to rumors about Indian massacres in Kansas.¹⁷

The Swedes in Linn County were Lutherans who had joined with Pastor Olof Olsson in the desire to found a new colony in America where they might develop a pattern of worship and belief as they desired. When Olsson said farewell to his friend, C. R. Carlson, as the latter left for America these words were spoken seriously, "Go then in God's name, and if you find a place in America where God's children can live in peace and worship God according to their hearts desire, let me know and I will come."¹⁸ It was logical, therefore, that soon after their settlement in America plans were made for organizing a Christian congregation. At the outset informal services were held which included the reading of the Holy Scriptures and sermons by Martin Luther and Rosenius, the singing of hymns and prayer. On May 28, 1870, they organized the "Svenska Evangelical Lutherska Församlingen in Bucklin, Linn Conty, Missiouri" (the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Bucklin, Linn County, Missouri) as recorded in the official records of the congregation.¹⁹ Pastor P. M. Sannquist from Altona, Henry County, Ill., presided at the organizational meeting. C. Walleen was elected secretary. Thirty-three individuals joined as charter members. The group accepted the constitution of the Augustana Lutheran Synod and decided to seek membership in that body at the next annual convention which was to be held at Andover, Ill. The services of the new congregation were held in the Methodist Church in Bucklin at a rental fee of \$3.00 per month. At a meeting on July 31, 1870, it was decided to hold church services at three places—in Bucklin and in the Swedish communities north and south of town. In 1874 a school house

¹⁷Weinberg Letters, Olof Olsson to C. W. Weinberg, May 13, 1870. The Indian massacres referred to occurred in May and August, 1869, when 14 settlers, including several Danes, were killed by Indians in Lincoln County, Kansas, about 40 miles northwest of the Lindsborg Swedish Settlement. G. Bernhardt, *Indian Raids in Lincoln County, Kansas, 1864 and 1869* (Lincoln, 1910), pp. 28-33, pp. 53-54.

¹⁸Bergin, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁹The records are in Swedish throughout the history of the congregation. The last entry is for 1927.

was purchased but it was not used as a place of worship for any length of time. In 1876 the church structure was built nine miles north of town. The financial records for the first year of the congregation's history show income of \$212.30 and expenses of \$207.30.²⁰

While Pastor Olof Olsson was disappointed that his friends in Bucklin failed to join him in Lindsborg, he, nevertheless, kept in close contact with them. Olsson sent Carl Walleen, a layman with the original party from Värmland, to minister to the Swedes in Bucklin. Walleen worked on the railroad while also serving as teacher and preacher. He was ordained as a pastor in the Augustana Lutheran Synod in 1872 and served the congregation until 1874. Walleen also conducted Swedish school for two to three months each year north and south of town.²¹ Pastor Olsson visited this Swedish community whenever circumstances permitted. In June, 1871, he spent several days there conducting services and baptizing seven recently born infants. He was there in July and in September, 1874, staying several days on each occasion.²² The Kansas Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Synod, which Olsson served as president and in which the Bucklin congregation held membership until 1891, tried to assist the congregation which was so isolated from other Swedish Lutheran groups. In September, 1874, at a regular meeting of this group, the Rev. S. J. Österberg of Kansas City, Mo., was instructed to make pastoral visits to Bucklin as well as to Connor Station, Clayton, and Jasper and Clay counties in Missouri. In 1877 and 1878 the Rev. A. Odell was asked to visit Bucklin.²³

The Swedish Lutheran Church was the center of the life of the community, a force making for solidarity and strength. The Swedish school for children tended to perpetuate the Swedish language as well as to afford instruction in religion. On Christmas Day, all roads in the community led to the white church on the hill as friends and neighbors participated in the

²⁰*Protokoll Bok*, Bethlehem Lutheran Church.

²¹*Protokoll Bok*; Lund, *op. cit.*, p. 683.

²²*Dop Bok*. This volume recorded all the baptismal acts of Pastor Olsson, 1869-1876.

²³*Protokoll Hållna Vid Kansas-Konferensens Möten Aren*, 1870-79, pp. 38, 47, 53.



Swedish Lutheran Church North of Bucklin, Missouri.

Courtesy Skoglund Studio, Omaha, Neb.



Swedish Mission Covenant Church North of Bucklin, Missouri.

Courtesy C. A. Larson of Bucklin

festive Jul Otta service (Christmas matins) at 5:00 a.m. Candles in windows of the church served as a beacon for miles as worshipers came to share in the observance of the birth of the Christ-child in the tradition of the homeland. While they built their small homes of rough-hewn logs, their church was constructed of fine lumber in keeping with their reverence for a temple of worship. They were devout Christians who sang enthusiastically the songs of Lina Sandell and Oscar Ahmfelt and the hymns from the well-known collection, *Hemlandssånger*. Copies of *Pietisten*, the religious journal edited by Carl Rosenius, were read carefully and shared with neighbors. On the walls of the homes hung reproductions of photographs of Martin Luther, Gustavus Adolphus, and Rosenius. The congregation grew steadily. From 33 charter members in 1870, it numbered 104 communicant members with a grand total of 193 five years later. The year 1875 witnessed the highest point in membership. All seemed promising for the Swedes in Linn County.²¹

The quiet peace of the Swedes in the wooded hills around Bucklin was soon disturbed by a religious controversy that split almost every Swedish-American community into two often very hostile factions. The Swedes in Linn County were not spared that experience. While there had been differences as to church polity and belief in Sweden, the controversy assumed large proportions as a result of the teachings of Per Waldenström, the successor to Rosenius as editor of *Pietisten*. In a sermon for Trinity Sunday, Waldenström announced a new doctrine relative to the atonement. In Lindsborg, Pastor Olsson suffered bitter disappointment when the followers of Waldenström, led by Olsson's old friend, C. R. Carlson from Filipstad, Värmland, left the Bethany Lutheran Church in 1875 to form their own, independent congregation. In Bucklin, the wedges of separation entered into the life of the people. There was division and discontent.²²

Moreover, some of the Swedes in Linn County were growing restless for economic reasons. It was difficult to make a

²¹Protokoll hållet vid skandinaviska ev. lutherska Augustana-Synodens 16: de årsmöte, 1875. Statistical supplement.

²²Ernest William Olson, Olof Olsson, *The Man, His Work, and His Thought* (Rock Island, 1941). The issues in the atonement controversy are discussed. pp. 73-80.

living on those wooded hills. In May, 1877, the pastor of the Lutheran Church, the Rev. Nels Ohslund, accepted a call to the Ada Lutheran Church, Kackley, Kans. In the following autumn, A. Hedstrom and family left Bucklin and settled near Kackley. Others discussed the desirability of going to Kansas. Olof Bergstrom and John Nelson were sent as representatives to survey the possibilities in the neighboring state. They returned with glowing accounts of the prospects there, reporting among other things that ears of corn grew as large as a man's arm in Kansas. In 1878, thirteen families, largely from the area south of Bucklin, went to Kansas to be followed later by others.²⁷

The controversy over the atonement led to the organization of a Mission Covenant Church in the Swedish settlement north of Bucklin. Informal services were held in the homes of those people or in a school house. In 1880 a church was constructed which could seat 200 people.²⁸ This development, together with the migration to Kansas, took its toll of the Lutheran congregation. By 1880, the communicant membership was only 39 in contrast with the membership of 104 in 1875. In one year, 42 members withdrew or were dropped by the congregation. The total membership was 81, a loss of 112 from the high point of 1875, five years earlier. The future of the congregation and to a certain extent of the Swedish element and culture in the area had been determined. The divisiveness caused by the religious conflict and the migration to Kansas had brought an end to what appeared to be a strong, unified settlement of Swedish people.²⁹

Two churches with their origin in Swedish pioneer life still stand as a symbol of a peoples' faith and what it meant to them. Services are no longer held in the Lutheran Church which was disbanded in 1927. Sunday School is held regularly each Sabbath in the Mission Covenant Church. An association was formed by the Lutherans in 1927, which now is a community-wide organization. The association maintains the old church structure and provides care for the cemetery in which the pio-

²⁷*Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1873-1948, Ada Lutheran Church, Kackley, Kansas*, pp. 11-12.

²⁸*Strödda Drag ur Missionsvännernas Verksamhet i Kansas och Missouri*, (Topeka, 1917), pp. 248-249.

²⁹*Protokoll vid Kansas-Konferensens åsämöte, 1880, Statistical supplement.*

neers rest. The wedges of separation are gone among the Bucklin Swedes as elsewhere. It is doubtful that there is much knowledge of the doctrinal issue that once produced much passionate division among friends and neighbours.

The visitor to the area in Baker and Bucklin townships, once settled so extensively by Swedes, observes marks of identification with the past. Mail boxes still carry such names as Olson, Benson, and Larson. The homes still maintain the traditional hospitality, including the ever present coffee pot with *skorpar* (rusks), rolls and other Swedish delicacies. At Christmas time, some families serve *lut-fisk* and *potatis-korf*. Swedish is seldom spoken even by the few children of the pioneers who remain, and the English used is typical of the people in the surrounding area. The new generation knows only a few words of the language that was heard in the two white churches or as neighbours met on narrow roads to discuss the crops or events as recorded in *Augustana* or *Hemlandet*. The older generation will respond in Swedish when addressed in that language. As is true among Swedish-Americans generally with pioneer antecedents, the language is unique and quaint, with accent and vocabulary belonging to the 1860's and 1870's and identified with a province. There has been practically no immigration from Sweden to Bucklin since pioneer times and no continuous connection with the homeland.²⁰ Frequently on Sunday mornings during the Sunday School hour in the Mission Covenant Church, one can hear the small group singing devotedly Lina Sandell's great hymn "Tryggare Kan Ingen Vara" (Children of the Heavenly Father). That hymn was often sung in former days in that area, a symbol of faith in God's protection, wherever His children might be found.

The history of the Swedes in the picturesque countryside of Linn County exists almost entirely in the temple of memory of an older generation. Some aspects of that history will be transmitted as an oral tradition to succeeding generations. Unknown and unrecorded is the toil and hardship, times of

²⁰In 1940 there were only 19 Swedish-born residents in Linn County and 9 in Macon County. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population Vol. II. Characteristics of the Population Vol. II, Part III* (Washington, 1943), p. 381.

loneliness in a new country far from relatives and friends, the uncertainty of the morrow. But these people from Sweden saw in America what they called in their language, *framtidsländet*, (the land of the future). And for most of them it was what it seemed to be. They have shared in the life of a nation which gave them freedom and opportunity, and for it, they and their children's children have always been grateful.

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF THE MISSOURI RIVER

BY AUBREY DILLER*

The Louisiana Purchase agreement was signed in Paris on April 30, 1803, and ratified by Congress in special session on October 19. Immediately the intelligensia in the new city of Washington turned its attention beyond the Mississippi, eager for information about the vast unknown territory unexpectedly acquired by the government. After the President himself, perhaps the most interested person was Samuel Latham Mitchell,¹ M. D., congressman and later senator from New York, and chairman of the House Committee of Commerce and Manufacture, which recommended the exploration of Louisiana on February 18, 1804. Mitchell was the chief editor of a scientific quarterly in New York, *The Medical Repository*, and in its numbers from 1803 to 1807 he published several documents on Louisiana that had come into his hands.² Two of these were published again from manuscript in the present century without reference to *The Medical Repository*, viz., Trudeau's *Description of the Upper Missouri* (1796)³ and McKay's *Journal of Travels into the*

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¹*Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 69-71.

²Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies. A Bibliography . . . 1800-1865* (San Francisco, J. Howell, 1921), pp. 8-10, revised by Charles L. Camp (San Francisco, Grabhorn, 1937), pp. 10-13.

³*The Medical Repository, Second Hexade*, Vol. III (January, 1806), 313-315; edited by Annie H. Abel, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* VIII (June-September, 1921), 149-179. Mitchell publishes only a brief portion and then adds the following note, p. 315, from which it appears that his manuscript contained much more than even Abel publishes. "This manuscript of Mr. Trudeau was politely put into Dr. Mitchell's hands by Mr. Nicholas Bollvin, at Washington, during the winter 1805-6. The writer, who had travelled much to the westward, inscribed his work to the Spanish Governor of the Illinois. It contains, 1. A description of the Upper Missouri; 2. A sequel to that description; 3. The opinions of the Indians as to their origin, faith, and ceremonies in religious matters; 4. Mode of making peace, smoking the great pipe, and dancing in different

Interior Parts of North America (1797).⁴ Another of Mitchell's documents is not known otherwise and seems to have escaped the attention of historians, although it is of considerable interest for its age and contents. It appears anonymously among other documents on Louisiana in *The Medical Repository, Second Hexade*, Vol. I (April, 1804), pp. 412-414. The following is the text of it in full.

ACCOUNT OF THE RIVER MISSOURI

[412] The Missouri, which ought to have taken the name of Upper Mississippi in preference to the smaller branches so called, has, according to the savages, its source in a chain of mountains at no great distance from California. There is said to be a considerable cataract near the source. Fifteen years before, Mr. C—, of St. Louis, ascended this great river to the distance of five hundred leagues, in a general direction of W.N.W. No other person before him had ever penetrated so far; and none, perhaps, have since exceeded that distance; so that the source remains yet unknown to all but the savages. Whatever, then, may be said here of the river and country, beyond this point, must be ascribed to information derived from the remote Indians.

After running a course of two or three and twenty hundred miles, the Missouri disembogues into the Mississippi, in lat. 38, 74, N. being about 15 1-2 W. from Philadelphia, and five leagues above St. Louis des Illinois, capital of Upper Louisiana. In ascending the stream we find all its larger branches uniting with it on the southern shore, there being but few waters, and those inconsiderable, that empty on the opposite side.

The current of the Missouri is extremely rapid, very muddy, and frequently more difficult to ascend than the Mississippi. Its turbidness is occasioned by a large river, called the Plate, which, rolling impetuously for some distance through a sandy desert, rushes into the other, on its southern side, about two hundred leagues from its mouth. The turbulence and impurities of the Plate are now communicated to the waters of the Missouri, and descend, though diminished, with the Mississippi, down to the Mexican Gulf. Above the Plate, the stream of the Missouri is said to be clear and gentle as is that of the Mississippi

ways, such as the calumet-dance, the sun-dance, and the bull-dance; 5. Conduct of the sexes toward each other, and marriages; 6. Their wars.—The physical geography, and trading intelligence contained in his manuscript, has such a near resemblance to that described in Mr. McKay's narrative, that it was deemed unnecessary to translate any more of the foregoing passage."

⁴*Medical Repository, Second Hexade*, Vol. IV (July, 1806), 27-36; edited by Milo M. Qualfe, *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 83 (1915), 186-210. Qualfe has the same extent of text as Mitchell, but in a different translation.

above the Missouri's mouth. And yet we are told that all the waters which fall in above the Plate were [413] muddy, except one, while all below it are clear. If this be true, it proves an astonishing degree of muddiness in the latter. Travellers do say that about a fourth part of its bulk is formed of mud and sand; and so impetuous is its stream, that although boats sometimes ventured down, yet none ever attempted to ascend it. From the name of this river it would appear to be embarrassed with shoals. The desert through which the Plate takes its course is said to extend a hundred miles on both sides; that it is made up of hills and plains of arid sand; that in high winds vast bodies of sand are taken up and carried through the air, burying irrecoverably whatever they happen to fall upon; and that, in this dreary tract, there is little or no vegetation, nor any animals to be seen, excepting a species of rabbit, and an animal of the sheep kind.* Nor is it inhabited by any of the human race.

The writer has in his hands the copy of an original MS. map in the possession of a gentleman there high in office. It embraces the whole of the Missouri and Mississippi, with their waters, and lays down, among other things, the various nations and tribes of savages inhabiting those extensive regions. According to this map, the Plate extends southwardly between twelve and fourteen hundred miles, interlocking its head waters with those of la Riviere du Nord (North-River), down which stands the city of Santa Fè, where the Spaniards have valuable gold mines.

About two hundred leagues further up the Missouri, that is, beyond the Plate's mouth, there is a remarkable bend called the Grand Detour, concerning the extent and position of which my informants were not perfectly agreed; some making it describe a circuit of thirty or forty leagues; but Mr. C——, in whose intelligence may be placed great confidence, affirms that it does not exceed eighteen leagues. Be that as it may, the beginning and end of this bend approach so near to each other, that a man can walk across the neck between them in half a day, whereas it takes up eight or nine days to row up the stream around it. Hence it would appear that the stream here is by no means placid, and therefore an exception to what is said before as to the gentleness of the current above the River Plate. The map lays down this bend as north of the general course of the river; but it has been said that it takes the opposite position.

[414] In the neighborhood of the Grand Detour, and about ten leagues from the river, on its north side, there is a lofty volcanic mountain, which is frequently in a state of eruption. This will account for the pumice-stones so often found floating down the Missouri and Lower Mississippi. To this volcano may be attributed a smart shock of an

*A description of this animal lately appeared in many of the public prints, copied from *Medical Repository*, *Hex. I.* vol. vi. p. 237.

earthquake, felt at Kaskaskias, &c. at three o'clock in the morning, January 8, 1795, and which came in an apt direction from the mountain.*

The navigation of the Missouri is attended with difficulty and danger; danger from its numerous quicksands, and difficulty from the obstinacy of the current. The quicksands lie sometimes in shoal water, and sometimes form dry bars or islands of various extent. If a boat happen to strike on one of the former, it is usual for the hands instantly to leap into the water, and push her off. Without this precaution the sand would quickly boil over both bows and gunwales, and swallow up the boat.

While at St. Louis there was a story of a melancholy catastrophe that once happened to a party of traders on their return. Having landed on a dry sand bar to take some refreshments, the bar suddenly disappeared, carrying down with it both men and boats.

There is a non-descript quadruped found high up the Missouri, about the size of a full-grown elk. He is covered with a coat of long fine hair, and has a horn on each side of the head, which, turning upwards, describes a volute, and passes off horizontally parallel with the nose. Some of these horns were presented to the commandment of St. Louis, who said that their diameter, at the root, was equal to the crown of his hat. He had sent them to the Baron de Carondelet, Governor-General of Louisiana, which deprived me of the satisfaction of seeing them. This animal is said to be docile, and very useful to the natives as a beast of burden and an article of food.

As the author or source of this account is not given, we are left to our own conjectures. The second footnote indicates that it was written some years before 1804. More light is thrown on its origin by a letter^s found among papers of John Evans, who accompanied McKay on his expedition up the Missouri from St. Louis in 1795-97.

Kaskaskia, March 10th 1795

Sir,

Agreeably to your desire I enclose here a few ideas, hastily thrown together, as hints, upon which you will doubtless, improve in the course of your travels up the Missouri. Such as they are, however, I shall be happy if, in any degree, they may prove Serviceable to you.

Mr. Chouteau assures me, that the Pacific Ocean can lie at no great distance from the Missouri's source—This information, derived from

*Some years after the above was written certain travellers proceeded to the mountain, and found it raging. They could not approach within a mile of it for fear of suffocation from the sulphurous fumes it sent forth.

^sEdited by Abraham P. Nasatir, *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV (April, 1931), 434f.

such respectable authority (for Mr Chouteau has himself travelled 500 leagues up the Missouri) must afford you consolation amidst all your fatigues.

The same Gentleman tells me that at a great distance up that River, you will meet with some new—animals—animals unknown in our Natural History: particularly one, of the size and nearly the colour of the elk, but with much longer hair. Under this hair, he is clothed with a fine and very long fur. He has two large horns—which, issuing from behind the ears and turning backwards in a circle, terminate in two points projecting before the head, in a horizontal direction. Do not fail, good Sir, to procure me a couple of the Skins (male and female) so that they can be stuffed to exhibit the entire form and natural attitude of each—I shod. be glad to receive half a dozen of the horns also.

You will likewise, it seems, find another new animal, and which appears to be of the Goat-kind. The hair on the back and belly is white; on the flanks it is reddish. Two *complete skins of both sexes* of this quadruped to the aflds. stuffed like those of the former, would be very desirable.

Wishing you all imaginable Success, and hoping to hear *frequently* from you, I remain

Sir,

Your very obedient Servt. and
Well-wisher

G. Turner (rubric)

P. S.

Since writing this, your favour of the same date was put into my hands. In a letter to Mr Trudeau, I had before mentioned you particularly to him, and also your desire to take a companion. This, I doubt not, will receive the commandant's approbation.—Present my best compliments to Mr Trudeau & family
[To] Mr. John T Evans

The reader will observe several coincidences, verbal and material, between these documents. They seem to me to indicate that the author and time and place were the same—G. Turner at Kaskaskias early in 1795. George Turner was a U. S. territorial judge, who held court at Kaskaskias from about October 1794 to May 1795, the first U. S. criminal court in Illinois.* From the present documents we learn that he also visited St.

*Clarence E. Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vols. II and III, *The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1934) with references to previous publications.

Louis during this term and established relations with the Spanish commandant Zenon Trudeau. Since the Spanish were jealous of the Upper Missouri, it is surprising that Turner learned so much about it.⁷ His account is one of the earliest. The only other of comparable date and detail is in the account of Spanish Louisiana by its governor, Estavan Miró, in 1785.⁸

Several points are now worthy of comment. The first is that "fifteen years before" Chouteau (probably Auguste, senior, 1749-1829) had ascended the Missouri 500 leagues (1500 miles), farther than anyone else before or since, and had passed the Grand Detour. His destination was probably the Aricara tribe on the Cheyenne River. This is the distinct limit of definite information in Miró's account of 1785. Moreover Miró has the same data as our author on the source of the Missouri, (and he attributes his information to the Aricara), viz., the (Rocky) Mountains near the Pacific Ocean and the (Great) Falls. Miró's informant, then, may have been Chouteau himself, and his account confirms somewhat the statement of our author. However, a journey of Chouteau to the Aricara ca 1780 is not recorded elsewhere and is incompatible with certain statements in other sources. Miró himself says "no one had ever gone higher up than the river of the Sius"; but he seems to mean "no trader," and he immediately mentions "later reports" of the Aricara. In 1789 Jean Munier "discovered that tribe, [the Ponca] unknown till then" (on the Niobrara).⁹ In 1791 Jacques d'Église reached the Mandans (in North Dakota) for the first time.¹⁰ Probably these various claims of priority are not all to be taken literally. If Chouteau's journey is authentic, it places him among the foremost explorers of the Missouri, and it is unfortunate that we do not know more of it.

The next point is the "original MS. map in the possession of a gentleman there [in St. Louis] high in office." The printed

⁷The United States had already made a pass at the Missouri River. See Colton Storm, "Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River, 1790," *Mid-America*, 14 (July, 1943), 180-188.

⁸Translated by Nasatir, *Missouri Historical Review*, XXIV (July, 1930), 521-536.

⁹Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri, II* (Chicago, Donnelley, 1909), 2.

¹⁰*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (June, 1927) 57.

maps of the Missouri River in 1790-1805 were quite out of date. It is known that new maps were drawn in St. Louis in this period, one as early as June, 1794, on the eve of Trudeau's expedition, and another in August, 1795, on the eve of McKay and Evans'.¹¹ The latter, signed and dated by Soulard, the author, is preserved in Paris. The former has not been found yet, but it was probably very similar.¹² The data in our document agree well enough with the map of August, 1795, although by our conjecture they must refer to an earlier one. They do not agree with any other known French-Spanish map of the Missouri; in particular the Trudeau-Collet map of 1796 and the McKay-Evans maps of 1797 are excluded.

Our author speaks of disagreement among his informants regarding the Grand Detour. This trick of nature made a great and malign impression on early voyageurs toiling in their pirogues upstream on the Missouri. Its extent and direction were both disputed. The exaggerated dimensions appear on Soulard's map of 1795, where the loop has a depth of no less than two degrees of latitude (140 miles). But even "Mr. C's" 18 leagues (54 miles) are far off, as the actual circuit cannot be over 30 miles. The still stranger discrepancy of the reports of the direction of the detour is also paralleled in other sources. For Trudeau in all of his accounts consistently represents the detour as to the right,¹³ while on Soulard's and Evans' maps it is drawn to the left, as it is in fact.

The report of an active volcano near the Grand Detour and Mitchill's supposed confirmation of it are entirely mistaken. There are no volcanoes or volcanic remains near the Missouri in South or North Dakota. "The volcano" is also mentioned in a letter by Major H. M. Pike (not the explorer) written at Kas-

¹¹Aubrey Diller, "Maps of the Missouri River before Lewis and Clark," *Studies in Honor of George Sarton* (1946), pp. 505-519.

¹²Several derivatives of one or the other have been published: R. G. Thwaites, *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1905), Atlas, No. 2; Charles O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the U. S.* edited by John K. Wright (Washington, D.C., Carnegie Institute and American Geographical Society, 1932), plate 28. Thwaites' map is entitled, "A Topographical Sketch of the Missouri and Upper Mississippi Exhibiting the Various Nations and Tribes of Indians Who Inhabit the Country, Copied from the Original Spanish MS Map." The reader will notice the verbal coincidences with our document.

¹³Aubrey Diller, *op. cit.*, p. 511, n. 24.

kaskias in August, 1803, and published by Mitchill along with our document (p. 410). Lewis and Clark, September 14, 1804, sought in vain for the extinct volcano which McKay's maps (but not Evans') show on the west side of the Missouri below the White River.

The animal of the size of an elk, with the volute horns, mentioned in similar language and with similar interest in both documents, is the well-known Rocky Mountain sheep or bighorn (*Ovis canadensis*), the only native species of sheep in America. The animal of the sheep (or goat) kind, on the upper Platte, is probably the pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*), a monotypic genus found only on the Great Plains of North America. However, it is white on the rump, not the back, and is more like an antelope than a sheep or a goat. Both of these species were still unknown to science in 1800. Mitchill had published a description and a picture of the bighorn (not the pronghorn, as his first note says) by Duncan McGillivray in *The Medical Repository* for January, 1803, and identified it wrongly as *Ovis ammon* in a note on another description of it in McKay's journal (see note 4).

The author speaks at greatest length of the Platte River, which he seems to describe in flood stage. This river was discovered by Bourgmond in 1714. Miró (1785) stresses its size and shallowness and mentions the Loup River and the Grand Island. Soulard's map (1795) shows the two forks. But our author is the first to mention the great desert or "dust-bowl." Collot (1796) also has "Barren Country Composed of Chalk, Sand, and Gravel" in the region of the upper Platte (or Loup) River. These notices may refer to a cyclic drought such as occurred in the 1860's and 1930's.¹⁴ They are the beginning of the notion of a Great American Desert, which later became a considerable factor in a certain phase of midwestern history.¹⁵

¹⁴Robert Diller, *Farm Ownership, Tenancy, and Land Use in a Nebraska Community* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941), pp. 14-16.

¹⁵Ralph C. Morris, "The Notion of a Great American Desert East of the Rockies," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 13 (September, 1926), 190-200.

THE MISSOURI READER AMERICANS IN THE VALLEY

PART II

EDITED BY RUBY MATSON ROBINS¹

American Immigration from 1796-1821—(continued)

Relations with the French

Relations with the Indians

RELATIONS WITH THE FRENCH

The Americans who came to the valley during the territorial period in such great numbers were inclined to consider themselves superior to the earlier French settlers; and the Indians were not even subjects of consideration. The Louisiana Purchase had proved the Americans' superiority, and as they did not have any difficulty in taking over the territory, relationship with the French was amiable, especially as they were, "Already in the minority in 1804, and living for the most part in a few hamlets and villages . . . Individuals adjusted themselves to new conditions and played a prominent part, but rather as Americans than Frenchman. The interests of the Americans who came before the Purchase were so identical with those of the French, particularly as to land titles, that any racial friction was impossible."²

Brackenridge, who as a child had lived with a French family in Ste. Genevieve, writes of the advantages of the purchase for the French, and of their fears at a change in government: "The chief advantage which accrued from the change of government may be summed up in a few words. The inhabit-

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²Jonas Viles, "Missouri in 1820," *Missouri Historical Review*, XV, (October, 1920), 43.

ants derived a security from the Indians; a more extensive field, and a greater reward was offered to industry and enterprise; specie became more abundant, and merchandise cheaper. —Landed property was greatly enhanced in value. In opposition, it may be said, that formerly they were content, had less anxiety; there was more cordiality and friendship, living in the utmost harmony, with scarcely clashing interests.

"The idea of their becoming extinct, by dissolving before a people of a different race, and of losing their *moeurs cheries*, might excite unhappy sensations. Already the principal villages look like the towns of the Americans . . .

"Had they been transferred to France, they would have suffered from exactions and conscriptions; had they remained attached to Spain what miseries might not have assailed them from the convulsed state of the Spanish monarchy!—And is it nothing to exchange the name of colonists, creoles, for that of AMERICANS, for that of a citizen of an independent state, where they can aspire to the highest employments and honors!"

To indoctrinate the French with the importance and privileges of being Americans, Stoddard, the first administrator of Upper Louisiana, suggested that, "The best way to secure the affections of these people [French], is gradually to change their modes of thinking; and the only way to attach them to our republican systems, is to enlighten their minds by a more general diffusion of knowledge among them. An academy, under the direction of the government, seems the best calculated to effect these important purposes."

The superior number of Americans in the valley and the establishment of American mores and economic philosophy brought a rapid change in the lives of the French. Brackenridge writes in 1811 that: "The Americans have communicated to them, their industry and spirit of enterprise, and they in turn, have given some of their more gentle and amiable customs. Upon the whole, the American manners, and even lan-

³Henri Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; Together with a Journal of A Voyage Up the Missouri River in 1811* (Pittsburgh, Cramer, Spear, and Elchbaum, 1814), p. 145.

⁴Amos Stoddard, *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, M. Carey, 1812), p. 311.

guage begin to predominate. The young men have already been formed by our government, and those growing up will have known no other. A singular change has taken place, which one would think ought not to be the result of a transition from a despotism to a republican government; luxury has increased in a wonderful degree, and there exists something like a distinction in the classes of society."⁸

Brackenridge describes that which seemed to him so un-republican, the distinction in the classes of society that took place among the French after the coming of the Americans. He says that: "It may be questioned, whether the poorest class has been benefited by the change. Fearless of absolute want, they always lived in a careless and thoughtless manner; at present the greater part of them obtain a precarious subsistence . . . At St. Louis they have more employment than in other villages . . . At Ste. Genevieve, they depend more on their agriculture, and have portions in the great fields but this will probably soon be taken from them by the greater industry of the American cultivators, who are continually purchasing, and who can give double the sum for rent; they are sometimes employed in hauling lead from the mines, but it will not be sufficient for their support. A number have removed to the country, and, in imitation of the Americans, have settled down on public lands, but here they cannot expect to remain long."

"Had they been more accustomed to think it possible, that by industry it was in their power to become rich, and independent also, the change would have been instantly felt in their prosperity . . . They are of late observed to become fond of intoxicating liquors. There is a middle class whose claims or possessions were not extensive, but sure, and from the increased value of their property have obtained since the change of government a handsome competence. They, upon the whole, are well satisfied."

The Frenchman was not too sympathetic with the aggressively productive activity of the American. Flint writes: "The laborious and municipal life and the agriculture and permanent

⁸Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 140-141.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 144.

industry of the Americans, their complex systems of roads, bridges, trainings, militia, trials by jury, and above all, their taxes, were as hostile to the feelings of the greater portion of the inhabitants, when we purchased Louisiana, as the fixed home and labor of a Russian are said to be to a Tarter."⁸

The Americans were inclined to be patronizing toward the easy-going French. Stoddard writes that, ". . . of all the people on the globe the French in Louisiana appear to be the happiest . . . Indolence is prevalent among them; but they are honest in their dealings and punctual in the performance of contracts. They obtain but little, and little satisfies their desires . . . While the English Americans are hard at labor, and sweat under the burning rays of a meridian sun, they will be seated in their houses . . ."

Frederick Bates writes in 1807, in a letter to Henry Dearborn, that the French lack the "military-spirit." Another manifestation of their lack of aggressiveness: "Of one thing it is my duty to apprise you: The military spirit of the country will be found only in the settlements of the Americans; and should the old inhabitants offer their services, but little reliance could be placed upon them. There might be some individual exceptions . . . They are blameless and inoffensive for the most part but they know nothing of the duties of a soldier, and could never be dragged into action either with Spanish or Indians."⁹

The French were confused by the Anglo-American conception of justice. Brackenridge writes that, "There are some things in the administration of justice, which they do not yet perfectly comprehend; the trial by jury, and the multifarious forms of our jurisprudence. They had not been accustomed to distinguish between the slow and cautious advance of *even-handed justice*, and the despatch of arbitrary power."¹⁰

⁸Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years Passed in Occasional Residence and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), p. 200.

⁹Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive*, p. 210.

¹⁰Frederick Bates, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, edited by Thomas M. Marshall (St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1926), I, 133.

¹¹Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 144.

It was difficult for the French to comprehend the American political philosophy. Bates writes that, "The very name *liberty* deranges their intellects, and it appears absolutely impossible for them to form accurate conceptions of the rights which Justice creates on the one hand, and obligations which it imposes on the other.

"The summary decree of a military officer however tyrannical or absurd is much better suited to their ideas of the fitness of things, than the dilatory trial by jury and 'the glorious uncertainty of the Common Law.'"¹³

However, the French system of laws was not ignored altogether, because, "Laws regulating civil contracts, are so intimately interwoven with the manners of a people, that it is no easy task to separate them: here *la coutume de Paris*, the common law of France, was the system by which their contracts were governed. The judges, in administering justice according to the American jurisprudence, are often perplexed by the article of Session, [sic] which provides, that respect should be paid to the usages and customs of the country."¹⁴

Another point of difference between the French and Americans was that of religion. There was no great friction though, between the Catholic and the Protestant. Some Americans found the Catholic Frenchman and his religion strange, while some French were no doubt outraged by the lack of religion on the part of not a few of the Americans.

Stoddard wondered if, "Perhaps the levity displayed, and the amusement pursued, by the French people on Sundays, may [not] be considered by some to border on licentiousness . . . When questioned relative to their gaiety on Sundays, they will answer, that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator."¹⁵

On the other hand, the religious habits of some of the American immigrants did not please the French. Christian Schultz, German traveler, writes that: "The French settlers

¹³Bates, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, I, 242-243.

¹⁴Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 138.

¹⁵Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive*, p. 316.

throughout this country generally entertain a very bad opinion of the religion of the Americans, and even go so far as to say they have no religion at all. This conclusion they have drawn from the sample which those Americans who have had the earliest intercourse with them, have given them of their piety, which is said not to have been to our credit."¹⁵

Protestants were not subject to any marked disapproval from the Catholic Frenchman, and Peck, the Baptist missionary, seems rather surprised that, ". . . they would treat Christian people, and even Protestant ministers of the gospel, with courtesy and respect."¹⁶

The French language, another outstanding point of contrast, presented difficulties to the Americans, and as the French language was spoken, ". . . in many settlements, almost exclusively . . . many of the Americans . . . found it advantageous to acquire a knowledge of that tongue."¹⁷ The French no doubt also found it "advantageous" to learn some English.

French place names suffered from American pronunciation. The *Louisiana Gazette*, 1811, has an article on "American influence on 'name changing:.'" "It is curious to observe the singular corruptions of French names, by Americans, from their englicised pronunciation: for instance, Bob Rowley, for Bois Brule. Capes and coribs for Cape Cinque Hommes, (five men) Sen Jin away, for St. Genevieve, Wheat bush, for Vide Poche (emptier of the pocket)."¹⁸

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

The French had always gotten along well with the Indians in the valley, and the Indians did not present much of a problem

¹⁵Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Orleans, Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles* (New York, Isaac Riley, 1810), II, 67.

¹⁶John Mason Peck, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoirs of John Mason Peck*, edited by Rufus Babcock (Philadelphia, American Baptist Society, 1846), p. 88.

¹⁷Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas* (Philadelphia, Lipincott, Gambo, 1853), p. 229.

¹⁸*Louisiana Gazette* (St. Louis, Missouri), February 14, 1811.

to the American immigrants: "Missouri, through her comparatively small Indian population and through the early friendship of the Indians won by the French, managed to escape without the more serious troubles that marked the settlement and taking of Indian land in many other parts of the country."¹⁰

The Indians in Missouri were really troublesome only during the War of 1812, and Viles writes, "The romance of western history centers about the Indian and the fur trade. In Missouri . . . the Indians, except for a few years in the War of 1812, were a negligible factor."¹¹

During the war years of 1812-1815 the Indians in Missouri did become troublesome. "The War of 1812 in Missouri and the Middle West became primarily an Indian war . . . The concentrated fighting was confined largely to the efforts of Americans to capture and hold Prairie du Chein [Wisconsin], and save for expeditions undertaken there and defensive and retaliatory measures on smaller scales in different neighborhoods the Missouri settlers were not called upon to take part in the war . . .

"The larger settlements on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers were not endangered, but the smaller frontier settlements in the interior were . . .

"In the northeast Missouri section along the river, Indian fears and dangers reached a peak . . ."¹²

"The war and the dangers it presented for frontier settlers almost completely halted the immigration to Missouri for some time, and not until about 1815 did settlements begin to grow in the area farther up the Missouri River."¹³

Trade with the Indians, an important feature in the relationship between them and the Americans, was carried on through the United States government. Stoddard pointed out that the Indian did not always benefit and gave a solution: "Considerations . . . urge us to fix our trading establishments, protected by a competent number of troops, more in the vicinity

¹⁰Floyd C. Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians Land of Contrasts and People of Achievements* (Chicago, Lewis, 1943), I, p. 58.

¹¹Viles, "Missouri in 1820," *Missouri Historical Review*, XV, 41.

¹²Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 247.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 249.

of the Indian villages, and at a distance from our populations. The custom of inviting the Indians to some of our larger villages to receive their annuities, and to trade at our factories, is extremely pernicious to them, and detrimental to the whites. While they remain among us, they are exposed to temptations they cannot resist. Their love of ardent spirits is well known . . . Unfortunately, many of our citizens contribute to their destruction, by an open evasion or violation of the laws . . . The Indians readily part with their goods, and even with their ammunition, for ardent spirits . . . They generally return to their homes without clothing for themselves or families, and without the necessary supplies of powder and lead."²²

"Wise and salutary measures are devised by our laws to prevent the sale of ardent spirits to Indians; and it is extremely unfortunate that they are infracted with impunity. Under the Spanish government, a drunken Indian was seldom seen in the villages of Louisiana."²³

Sometimes the United States was not a desirable merchant with whom to deal. Bates tells of one failure on the part of the government to meet a promise to supply the Indians with merchandise:

" . . . we endeavoured by every effort in our power to detach the Indians of the Mississippi from their Canadian connections. By promising them that [their] own traders, or a branch of the U. States Factory should be established among them, we at length *succeeded* and these tribes confiding in promises which we have not been able to perform, refused to purchase of foreigners and are now totally destitute of Blankets and other coarse wollens for the coming winter—as well as of powder and Lead for the supply of their daily food."²⁴

The Indians were at times hard to please, and Stoddard writes that: "The trade in Upper Louisiana was widely different [from that in other regions and in the Delta], and susceptible of progressive improvement . . .

"The Indians are much more particular in the color and quality of their goods than is generally suspected . . . They

²²Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 456-457.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 462.

²⁴Bates, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, I. 229-230.

sometimes carry their fancies to such extremes as to involve themselves in distress; for they will endure the rigors of winter rather than cover their bodies with a blanket too large or too small . . . or the color of which is not suited to their tastes. The goods at present manufactured in the United States are in no estimation among them; and they have, at least in one instance, refused to accept an annuity of merchandise of this description . . . The manufacturers in England are well acquainted with the nature of the goods wanted . . . so that an assortment put up by them will always be found to answer the wants of the Indians . . ."²⁸

A trading incident at Fort Osage, which seems to show the quality of the relationship between the Americans and the Indians, is described by Brackenridge: "All three of the Osage bands, together with some Kansas, were lately encamped here for the purpose of trading; to the number of fifteen hundred warriors. The officer informed me, that about ten days ago, serious apprehensions had been entertained from them. A war party, of about two hundred, having scalped a few women and children, of the Ayuwas, their enemies, had returned so elated with this exploit, that they insulted the people of the fort. One of these warriors defied a centinel on his post; the centinel was commanded to fire over his head, this producing no effect, he was seized by a file of men, which he at first treated with indifference, declaring that if he were confined, he would get some of the white men's *bread*; his tune was changed, however, by a liberal application of the cat-o'-nine-tails to his back. Great commotions amongst the Indians were excited . . . They maintained a threatening attitude for some days, and to give vent to their spite, killed a pair of fine oxen, belonging to Mr. Audrain. The officer sent for the chiefs, and told them that unless two horses were given for the oxen, he would instantly fire upon the village. This spirited deportment had the desired effect, the chief complied, and after some counseling, the pipe was smoked, and all matters adjusted.

"These Indians are not to be compared to the nations east of the Mississippi; although at war with most of their neigh-

²⁸Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 298-300.

bours, they are a cowardly race. One good trait, however, deserves to be mentioned; they have rarely, if ever, been known to spill the blood of a white man:—When a white hunter is found on their lands, they take away his furs and his arms, he is then beaten with ramrods, and driven off.”²⁷

The American attitude toward the Indian was much different from that of the French. Flint writes of this difference, “In short, wherever the French have come in contact with the savages, these unions [mixed marriages], have been the result.”²⁸

“I have already hinted at the facility with which the French and Indians intermix. There seems to be as natural an affinity of the former people for them, as there is repulsion between the Anglo-Americans and them . . . Peace there often is between them when they are cast in the same vicinity, but any affectionate intercourse never.”²⁹

A description by Brackenridge of an encounter with some Osage Indians shows this feeling of repulsion spoken of by Flint: “On approaching the fort [Osage] we were met by a number of Osage Indians of both sexes and of all ages. They kept pace with us, strung along the bank, apparently attracted by curiosity. They were objects rather disgusting; generally of a filthy greasy appearance, the greater part with old dirty buffalo robes thrown over their shoulders; some with brawny limbs exposed, and no covering but a piece of cloth girded round their loins. The women appeared, if possible, still more filthy than the men.”³⁰

The Indian did not always receive American justice. Major S. H. Long, on a tour of duty through the territory in 1819, made note of an incident that showed the Americans in an unfavorable light: “Fifteen miles north of Jackson, on a little stream called Apple creek, reside four hundred Indians, mostly Delawares and Shawnees. At the time of our visit the head of a Shawnee, who had been concerned in the murder of

²⁷Brackenridge, *Journal of A Voyage Up the River Missouri Performed In 1811* (Baltimore, Coale and Maxwell, 1816), p. 54.

²⁸Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, p. 131.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁰Brackenridge, *Journal of A Voyage Up the River Missouri Performed In 1811*, pp. 48-49.

a white woman, was to be seen elevated on a pole by the side of the road . . . It was related to us that the crime, for which this punishment had been inflicted, was committed at the instigation of a white man . . .

"It is painful to witness the degradation and misery of this people, once so powerful and independent; still more so to see them submitting to the unnecessary cruelties of their oppressors . . .

"A miserable remnant of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Peola tribes, with a few Chickasaws and Cherokees, were at this time scattered through the country . . . They were, however, about to remove farther west . . . where by becoming intruders upon the territories of the Cherokees, it may be expected their speedy and entire extinction will be insured."⁸¹

The Indians were ever pushed on by the American immigrants, and no doubt some of the Americans agreed with Bates who wrote to Meriwether Lewis in 1808, "As long as we are *Indian Traders* and *Hunters* our settlements can never flourish, and for my own part I care not how soon the savage is left to traverse in solitude his own Desarts, until the approach of cultivation oblige him to retreat into more gloomy recesses."⁸²

Philosophically, Schoolcraft writes of the Indian's plight: "But he is hardly well seated on his new hunting-grounds—he has hardly begun to reap his new cornfields—when the pioneers of the same race that disturbed him before, are upon him; and again, and again he must fly before the resistless—the uncontrollable tides of migration. It is a providential reflux in the wave of races. It is something to be observed, rather than to be apprehended and understood."⁸³

The Indians soon lost their land, even the "gloomy recesses" for, "Often settlers just built their homes on land, whether it belonged to the government or not. This circum-

⁸¹Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819, 1820, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Major S. H. Long, of the U. S. Top Engineers. Compiled from the notes of Major Long, Mr. T. Say and Other Gentlemen of the Party* (London, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1823), III, 146.

⁸²Bates, *The Life and Papers of Frederick Bates*, I, 267.

⁸³Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures*, p. 131.

stance eventually led to many treaties²⁴ and land cessions by the Indians and to the eventual extinguishing of Indian land titles in Missouri.²⁵

(This is the second and last article on American Immigration from 1796 to 1821 in the series on "Americans in The Valley." The first article on the settlements in the series on "Americans in The Valley" will be on New Madrid and will appear in the April, 1951, issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*).

²⁴During 1804 to 1820 three treaties were made concerning Indians and land in Missouri. In 1804 the Sac and Fox Indians ceded land for which they received money and annuities, but no land. Later the United States removed displaced Indians to land in the West. In 1808 the Great and Little Osages ceded land for money, annuities, and other considerations. Land in Missouri was ceded to the Kickapoos from Indiana and Illinois in 1819. (See Shoemaker, *Missouri and Missourians*, I, 59-60).

²⁵*Ibid*, I, 58.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS**MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP**

During the four months from July, 1950, through October, 1950, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

FIVE LIFE MEMBERS

Warren, David M., Panhandle, Texas

SEVEN NEW MEMBERS

Dawson, Mrs. Lerton V., Excelsior Springs

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Moore, L. F., Laclede

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Banta, Byron B., Marshall
Ellington, R. D., Jr., Portageville
Young, Newton E., Sr., LaPlata

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Amos, J. R., Springfield
Finnical, Walter, DeSoto
Kraehe, Enno, Clayton
McDonald, J. A., Washington
Neumann, H. A., Hermann
Pippin, Dru L., Waynesville
Vogelsang, Mildred, Cape Girardeau
Wonsetler, Arthur C., Seattle, Washington

ONE NEW MEMBER

Aker, Mrs. E. G., Parkville
 Atwood, LaGrand L., Ferguson
 Barrett, Jesse W., St. Louis
 Bartels, John S., Kirkwood
 Carr, Namon L., Kansas City
 Dyer, Clyde P., Webster Groves
 Dunlap, Mrs. Virginia M., River-
 mines
 Fayman, Mrs. Lena, Mound City
 Hollenbeck, Arch T., West Plains
 Humberg, W. H., Webster Groves
 Johnson, Mrs. Roy R., Neosho
 Kelly, Clement T., St. Louis
 Lamb, Gilbert, Jefferson City
 Lanham, Mrs. B. M., Slater
 Long, Mrs. David S., Harrisonville
 McIlvaine, J. Edward, St. Louis
 McLarty, Mrs. A. D., Columbia
 Mangum, P. D., Excelsior Springs

Meyer, George E., McKittrick
 Mott, Frank L., Columbia
 Neuhooff, Dorthy A., St. Louis
 Oliver, R. B., Jr., Cape Girardeau
 Osborn, Mrs. Donald R., Kansas
 City
 Poague, Haysler A., Clinton
 Reynolds, Mrs. Roy, St. Louis
 Roper, Paul, West Plains
 Sargent, Lena M., Springfield
 Skelcher, William T., Burkburnett,
 Texas
 Soper, Mrs. Lee B., Liberty
 Suttle, Harry L., Springfield
 Thompson, Henry C., Bonne Terre
 Wese, Mrs. Cora, Denver, Colorado
 White, L. M., Mexico
 Woods, Charles L., Rolla
 Woods, Edward F., Kirkwood

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

One hundred and forty-three applications for membership were received by the Society during the four months from July, 1950, through October, 1950, inclusive. The total annual membership as of October 31, 1950, was 5220.

The new members are:

Alden, Mrs. Etta Estill, Los Ange-
 les, Calif.
 Alexander, C. T., Portageville
 Allen, R. E., Perry
 Andersen, Mrs. E. J. T., Mont-
 gomery City
 Andrew Drumm Institute, Inde-
 pendence
 Atwood, William L., Brookline,
 Mass.
 Benninger, H. L., Parkersburg,
 West Virginia
 Blair, David E., Springfield
 Blalock, Roy, Canton
 Boisseau, Marvin E., St. Louis

*Bowles, Karl C., Alameda, Cali-
 fornia
 Brammer, George C., LaPlata
 Brand, Jean, Columbia
 Brinkerhoff, F. W., Pittsburg,
 Kansas
 Brown, Mrs. Vernal L., Canton
 Carpenter, Paul S., Los Angeles,
 Calif..
 Central High School Library, Cape
 Girardeau
 Cheatham, Thomas K., Warrens-
 burg
 Clark, Charlie E., Excelsior
 Springs

- Collins, Rodney E., LaPlata
 Crannell, Mrs. J. V., Mound City
 Cravens, E. H., Excelsior Springs
 Davis, Chester L., Perry
 Dearduff, Mr & Mrs. F. W., Parkville
 Dennler, Carl, Jr., Washington
 Dixon, John J., St. Louis
 Doll, Lyman J., Farmington
 Doyle, Amy J., Oakland, California
 Duderstadt, Mrs. Henry, Excelsior Springs
 Dunn, Harlo J., West Plains
 Dunnington, Mrs. Susan, Springfield
 Eberwein, Fred, Weston
 Edom, C. C., Columbia
 Edwards, Annette, Silver Springs, Maryland
 Elensrath, Hugo, Rhineland
 Fayman, Mrs. Lena, Mound City
 Goode, Margery, Dallas, Texas
 Goodson, Mrs. Lillie E., Springfield
 Gorin, Henry J., Seattle, Washington
 Graham, Harold, Brentwood
 Gross, Gertrude F., Boonville
 Hansford, George M., Braymer
 Harbaugh, Paul, Laclede
 Harper, W. H., Maplewood
 Hart, Grace L., Braymer
 Head, J. W., Palmyra
 Heberling, D. H., Excelsior Springs
 Hedges, Mrs. B. C., Excelsior Springs
 Henry, Dean T., Sarcoxie
 Herdman, Mrs. O. C., Waco, Texas
 Hickman, Jeanette, Malta Bend
 High School, Ash Grove
 Hoffman, Dimmitt, Sedalia
 Horn, Lena, Wyaconda
 Huey, Leslie P., Maplewood
 Jaynes, Mrs. Homer, Brighton
 *Johnson, Mrs. Ella, Joplin
 Johnson, Roy E., Quonset Point, Rhode Island
 Johnston, A. E., Laclede
 Jones, T. K., Lubbock, Texas
 Kies, Vivian, Cape Girardeau
 Kimberlin, Charles, West Plains
 Krispin, Felix J., St. Louis
 Kuchins, Harry, Richmond Heights
 Kuntz, Mrs. Frank R., Lee's Summit
 Lacher, Edgar, St. Louis
 *Land, Mrs. James David, Oakland, California
 Landis, A. W., West Plains
 Langlitz, Eldred J., Robertson
 Leech, C. A., Columbia
 Letholt, Mrs. Lewis V., Cowgill
 Limpp, Rufus H., King City
 Link, Robert L., Kirksville
 Lipic, Emil C., St. Louis
 Lowman, Mrs. Ida V., Shelbyville
 *McCorkle, Carroll G., St. Louis
 Maughmer, Fred H., Savannah
 Mayfield, Mrs. Olive, Portageville
 Mayfield, P. M., Peru, Nebraska
 Maynard, Mrs. J. L., St. Louis
 Mead, Bernard F., Braymer
 Meschede, Clara B., Marshall
 Miller, Mervin T., Kansas City
 Moentmann, Fred, Norborne
 Moore, Mrs. Robert H., Excelsior Springs
 Morse, L. Glenn, Neosho
 Morton, G. H., Festus
 Mullen, James S., Leavenworth, Kansas
 Munson, Byron, DeSoto
 Myers, W. W., Bethany
 Norris, L. D., Perry
 Perry, Lewis C., LaPlata
 Perryman, Leonard M., Marshall
 Phillips, Mrs. O. W., Odessa
 Pilcher, C. T., Maysville
 Prange, Louis H., St. Louis
 Quarles, James, Staunton, Virginia
 Rademaker, W. L., St. Louis
 Rankin, William M., Los Angeles, California
 Reed, Vincent C., Hannibal

- | | |
|---|--|
| Richardson, Lynn T., Slater | Tomlin, Ray S., Canton |
| Robins, Mrs. R. L., Washington,
D. C. | Tong, Marvin E., Jr., Springfield |
| Rouse, C. A., Hamilton | Turner, Mrs. Loring B., Jr., Jeffer-
son City |
| Routh, Dewey, Rolla | Vogelsang, Mildred, Cape Girar-
deau |
| Rueff, Jerome A., St. Louis | Wallis, Mrs. Floy E., Washington,
D. C. |
| Sage, Sollie M., Lock Springs | *Warren, Mrs. David M., Jr., Pan-
handle, Texas |
| Savage, Patricia, Laclede | Watters, T. Warren, North Kansas
City |
| Schmidt, Theodore, Clayton | Weidmann, Jack A., Springfield |
| Schwartz, Ed, St. Louis | Weidmann, Mrs. Jack A., Spring-
field |
| Schwartz, Marian, Silver Spring,
Maryland | Weien, Mr. & Mrs. A. C., Excel-
sior Springs |
| Shelburne, Louis W., West Plains | Weightman, Ray, Maryville |
| Shipley, A. C., Kansas City | Weightman, W. H., Mound City |
| Simmons, Hilton, Laclede | West, Hugh A., Marshall |
| Smith, Mrs. Jessie M., Austin,
Texas | West, Walter E., Clarksdale |
| Snider, H. H., Excelsior Springs | Whitworth, L. O., Fredericktown |
| Snider, Sam H., Kansas City | Wightman, Fred, Braymer |
| Stigers, Earl M., Alhambra, Cali-
fornia | Wilson, Marguerite B., Raytown |
| Studt, Sidney M., Kirkwood | Winn, A. F., Kansas City |
| Taylor, John L., Laclede | Wright, W. R., Laclede |
| Temple, Gilbert, Braymer | Yates, Mrs. Marian, Bethany |
| Thompson, Emma A., Columbia | Zahrndt, Walter W., Maplewood |
| Thruston, Mrs. Ethylene B., Inde-
pendence | |
| Tipton, Mrs. C. U., Joplin | |

* Life member.

WEEKLY HISTORICAL ARTICLES RELEASED BY THE SOCIETY

A wide variety of subjects is taken up in the weekly feature articles compiled by the State Historical Society of Missouri and published in city and county newspapers throughout the state. There is a timely one on Indian "football," two on Missouri bandits, three biographical sketches of prominent Missourians, and one on the weather which makes one glad he wasn't a pioneer. Those released during October, November, and December are as follows:

October: "Robert Dalton Killed in Attempted Holdup," "The Healds Take the Long Way to Missouri," "Rural Free

Delivery Introduced into Missouri in 1896," "Public Ridicule Punished Culprits in the Pillory," and "Government Land Office Opened in Franklin in 1818."

November: "Think Football's Rough? You Should Have Seen the Indian Version!," "Walter B. Stevens Reporter, Historian," "Mark Twain Born in Missouri 115 Years Ago This Week," and "Great Star Shower of 1833 Awed Missourians."

December: "Bank Robbery at Gallatin Blamed on James Boys," "French Creole Women Reluctant to Give up Old Country Customs," "'Old Man Winter' Was Rough on Early Missourians," and "Christopher (Kit) Carson, Runaway Saddler's Apprentice, Became Famous Western Scout."

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY 1950

E. E. Swain of Kirksville was elected president of the State Historical Society of Missouri at its annual meeting held in the Society's rooms, Friday afternoon, October 27. Other officers elected were: George Robb Ellison, Maryville, first vice-president; Rush H. Limbaugh, Cape Girardeau, second vice-president; Henry A. Bundschu, Independence, third vice-president; Bartlett Boder, St. Joseph, fourth vice-president; Ray V. Denslow, Trenton, fifth vice-president; Louis J. Sieck, St. Louis, sixth vice-president; and R. B. Price, Columbia, treasurer.

Mr. Swain is the twelfth president of the Society and the seventh newspaper man to be elected to that office since the founding of the Society in 1898 by the Missouri Press Association. The first six presidents were all newspaper men: E. W. Stephens of Columbia, 1898-1903; H. E. Robinson of Maryville, 1903-1907; W. O. L. Jewett of Shelbina, 1907-1910; Wm. Southern, Jr., of Independence, 1910-1914; R. M. White of Mexico, 1914-1916; and W. B. Stevens of St. Louis, 1916-1925. Then followed a period from 1925 to the present when the office was filled by a succession of four lawyers and one university professor: George A. Mahan of Hannibal, 1925-1936; Allen McReynolds of Carthage, 1936-1941; George A. Rozier of Perryville and Jefferson City, 1941-1944; Isidor Loeb of St.

Louis, 1944-1947; and G. L. Zwick of St. Joseph, 1947-1950. Now once again, after an interval of twenty-five years, a Missouri editor has been elected to the highest office in the Society.

Eight trustees were reelected for three-year terms ending in 1953: Frank P. Briggs, Macon; Stephen B. Hunter, Cape Girardeau; Waldo P. Johnson, Clinton; E. Lansing Ray, St. Louis; Albert L. Reeves, Kansas City; E. E. Swain, Kirksville; R. M. Thomson, St. Charles; and Roy D. Williams, Boonville. George Robb Ellison was elected a trustee for a term ending in 1952, to fill the vacancy caused by the death on June 9, 1950, of Albert M. Clark of Richmond.

The financial report of the Executive and Financial committees was presented by E. E. Swain and was accepted, as was the report of the Society's treasurer, given by Floyd C. Shoemaker in the absence of R. B. Price, treasurer. Mr. Shoemaker then gave a resume of some of the accomplishments of the Society during the year, recalling that the Society has maintained its rank as first in membership in the nation among state historical societies, having 5,188 members on October 1 as compared with 4954 a year ago. Other achievements included the acquisition of 1,359,737 pages of microfilmed newspapers, the publication of volume IV of *Ozark Folksongs* with an index of the four volumes, an index for volume 44 of the *Review*—the first index of a current volume—and preparation and completion of printer's copy of volumes XV and XVI of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*, covering the administrations of Governors Forrest C. Donnell and Phil M. Donnelly.

A valuable donation, which Mr. Shoemaker called attention to, was the gift of 86,370 pages on microfilm of the *Kirksville Daily Express* from June 11, 1906, to December, 1949, inclusive, by E. E. Swain.

During the year 2,279 volumes of newspapers were bound, 1,266 books and pamphlets cataloged, 3,192 cards added to the reference catalog, and a number of books added to the Bay Collection.

A service performed by the Society this past summer was the loan to the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art of five of the Society's historical record paintings: Bingham's *Order No. 11* and *Watching the Cargo*, Beller's *A View of Weston, Missouri*, Kuemmel's *Glasgow*, and Domenico's *Battle of Lexington, Missouri*, as a contribution to the Kansas City Centennial Show. Paul Gardner, director of the gallery, wrote in appreciation of this loan "it is true that the group from the State Historical Society of Missouri really assured the success of the exhibition."

A similar loan was made in the fall of 1949 to the City Art Museum of St. Louis in connection with its "Mississippi Panorama" art exhibit. At that time three of the Society's canvases were exhibited: Bingham's *Watching the Cargo*, Beller's *Weston*, and Kuemmel's *Glasgow*.

A resolution of appreciation of the late Albert M. Clark was presented by George Robb Ellison and was adopted unanimously. Judge Clark had been a vice-president of the Society from 1920 to 1925 and a trustee from 1937 until the time of his death.

At the executive committee meeting following the business meeting Thomas Hart Benton of Kansas City and Daniel R. Fitzpatrick of St. Louis were made honorary members of the Society.

This year the Society returned to its pre-war practice of having the annual business and executive committee meetings in the afternoon, followed by a banquet in the evening. A large and interested group gathered at the Daniel Boone hotel at 7 o'clock for the banquet and program with Judge G. L. Zwick, retiring president of the Society, as toastmaster. After the invocation by Dr. Louis J. Sieck, president of Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, the guests were entertained by R. Oscar Clymer, professor of voice at the University of Missouri, who presented three selections from *Ozark Folksongs*: "Peter Gray," "Pretty Saro," and "The Ballad of the Boll Weevil." He was accompanied by Mrs. Ruth Quant, instructor in music at the university.

Guests of honor were then introduced, who included Governor Forrest Smith and the principal speaker of the evening, Dr. Walter Prescott Webb, professor of history at the University of Texas who spoke on "The Great Frontier and Western Civilization." Dr. Webb opened his remarks with the statement that although he himself had formerly been the secretary of a historical society, this was the first time that he had ever seen a governor of the state in attendance upon such an occasion.

MESSAGES AND PROCLAMATIONS OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE
STATE OF MISSOURI

Volume XV of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* containing the official papers of Governor Forrest C. Donnell, Missouri's fortieth executive, has just been received from the printer. This volume, edited by Sarah Guitar, reference librarian, and Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, covers the years 1941 to 1945 and contains 462 pages, the largest number devoted to any one administration with the exception of volume X on the administration of Governor Herbert S. Hadley, 1909-1913. A picture of Governor Donnell and an excellent biographical sketch by Judge Laurance M. Hyde, of the Supreme Court of Missouri, are included.

In 1922 the State Historical Society began the compilation of this documentary series which, with the addition of this volume, covers the administration of forty of Missouri's governors. House and Senate Journals of the General Assembly of Missouri, memoranda from the office of the Secretary of State, and reprints of missing early official documents, which were published in various newspapers, were consulted and relevant material was used in compiling these documents. The series is an invaluable aid to state officials, lawyers, historians, librarians, and students of government.

JOSEPH PULITZER DONATES MICROFILM

Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and a trustee of the State Historical Society of Missouri since

his election in 1940, has donated to the Society a positive microfilm copy of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* from Jan. 2, 1943, to June 30, 1950, a total of 117,102 pages. This is the first gift of its kind to be given to the Society and it is being continued each month.

The Society also has the *Post-Dispatch* on microfilm for the years 1874-1919, a total of 258,368 pages, made by permission of the *Post-Dispatch* from its negative copy, and 544 bound volumes of the same paper from 1920 through 1942, awaiting microfilming when funds permit.

THE "MISSOURIANS," A NEW WASHINGTON D. C. SOCIETY,
LAUNCHED

A second state society of Missourians has been founded in the nation's capital. Named the "Missourians," to distinguish it from the older "Missouri Society," the group has Thomas T. Kenney, formerly of Kansas City, as president and shares with its rival the memberships of President Harry S. Truman and Mrs. Truman.

The society's opening event was a Halloween "hoe-down" at the Congressional Country Club on October 27 when a new song, entitled "Old Missouri," written for the group by James L. Dixon, Washington real estate man, at the suggestion of John T. Barker, former Kansas City lawyer and attorney-general of Missouri and now a special assistant in the U. S. attorney-general's office in Washington, was introduced.

A photostatic copy of the original manuscript of the new song has been given to the State Historical Society by Mr. Dixon.

BROWNFIELD ROADSIDE PARK DEDICATED

Brownfield Roadside Park on U.S. Highway 50 near Otterville, which was given to the state by Mrs. R. O. Brownfield of Sedalia, was dedicated on October 20, at ceremonies sponsored by the Garden Club of Otterville. Accepted by the Blue Star Memorial Park Association as the second of Missouri's Blue Star Memorial Highway parks, the three and one-half acre

area overlooks the Lamine River and is in view of the Civil War breastworks erected by Union troops to protect the railroad bridge.

The program, which was in charge of Mrs. J. E. Golladay of Otterville, began with an invocation by the Rev. H. A. Wood of Otterville. Following a basket dinner at noon, J. H. Gunn of Otterville gave the address of welcome which was responded to by Rex M. Whitton of Jefferson City. Mrs. Golladay then introduced Floyd W. Sayers, senior maintenance engineer of the State Highway Department, who in turn introduced Mrs. R. O. Brownfield, Mrs. Herbert Seifert of Sedalia, and several state highway officials. The other speakers on the program, as introduced by Mrs. Golladay, were E. L. Clark of Rolla, Floyd C. Shoemaker of Columbia, and Roy D. Williams of Boonville.

The group then adjourned to the site of the highway marker which was to be dedicated that day as a memorial to the soldiers of World Wars I and II. After the pledge of allegiance led by J. C. Miller of Columbia and V. C. Harrison of Otterville, Mrs. Seifert unveiled the marker and gave an address on its significance. Mr. Miller then gave a moving expression of appreciation for the veterans of World War I and Mr. Harrison for the veterans of World War II, followed by a prayer for peace by the Rev. Louis Drake of Otterville. The flag was lowered to half mast by Kirtley Morris, taps were sounded by the Anthony brothers, and Mrs. J. H. Carson of Otterville placed a wreath at the marker. The park was then presented to the State Highway Department by Mrs. Golladay and accepted by V. B. Saville, division engineer of the department.

The marker which was unveiled has a rectangular, native limestone base in which is embedded a bronze tablet with the words "A tribute to those who served in our World War I. Contributed by Otterville and Community." On the standard supporting this base is another bronze tablet bearing the inscription "Blue Star Memorial Highway. A tribute to the Nation's Armed Forces who served in World War II. Federated Garden Clubs of Missouri. Missouri State Highway Department."

The Blue Star Memorial Highway, from New York to San Francisco, originated as a living tribute to those who served in World War II, and each park along the highway accepted by the Blue Star Association bears a similar marker. The first park in Missouri to be accepted was Bradford Roadside Park near Sedalia, which was sponsored by the Garden Club of Sedalia and dedicated in 1947.

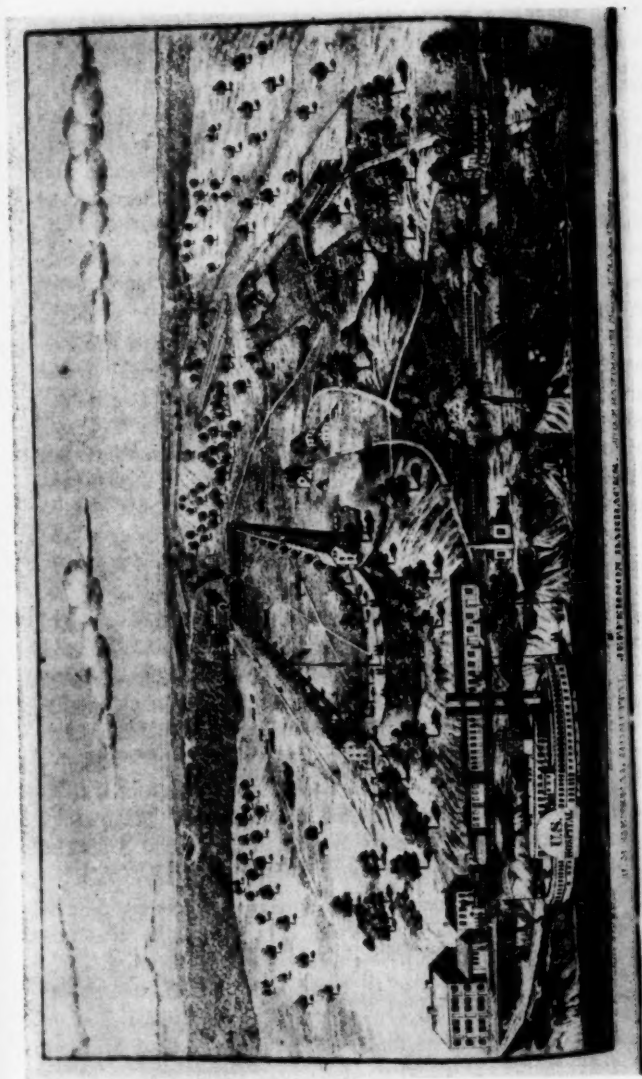
WILSON'S CREEK BATTLEFIELD BECOMES A PARK

Wilson's Creek Park, a thirty-seven-acre tract southwest of Springfield, became a reality on October 30 when John K. Hulston, president of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce, and L. E. Meador, president of the Wilson's Creek Battlefield Foundation, Inc., presented Mr. and Mrs. Robert McClure, owners of the property, with a check for \$1600 in return for a deed to the property.

During the past summer invitations were issued to towns and civic organizations in the surrounding area to send delegates to the first meeting of the Wilson's Creek Historical Association in Springfield, August 22. In the meantime the Springfield Chamber of Commerce had taken a ninety-day option on the initial thirty-seven acres which they hoped would later be enlarged to include the rest of a 1200-acre area to be developed into a state park as a memorial to those who died in the Civil War battle of Wilson's Creek.

At the historical association meeting, August 22, a Wilson's Creek Battlefield Foundation, Inc., was formed with L. E. Meador as president and Louis W. Reps, managing director of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce, as secretary-treasurer.

By October 30th, the Foundation had received \$2165 from school children and citizens of Springfield and southwest Missouri and from descendants of Civil War veterans in Missouri and other states, thereby making this historical memorial park possible.



Jefferson Barracks in 1864.

JEFFERSON BARRACKS HISTORICAL PARK DEDICATED

On Sunday, October 1, dedication ceremonies were held in the 130-acre tract, designated as Jefferson Barracks Historical Park, which is located in the northeast corner of the former military post. Presiding Judge Luman F. Mathews of the St. Louis County Court accepted the deed to the area from Jess Larson, chief administrator of the General Services Administration, Washington, D. C.

The program, sponsored by the St. Louis County Historical Society and under the chairmanship of B. Cordell Stevens, president of the society, was highlighted by a talk by Major General U. S. Grant III, retired, who is vice-chairman of the board of trustees of the National Trust for Historical Preservation in the United States. He traced the early history of Jefferson Barracks from its establishment in 1826. Other speakers were: Jess Larson; Julian C. Spotts, superintendent of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial; and Senator James P. Kem.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boone County Historical Society held a meeting October 30 at Harris Cafe, Columbia, with Frank Tull presiding. This was the first meeting of the society since January 16, 1947. Mr. Tull gave a historical sketch of Boone County from 1820 to 1839. A committee was appointed to nominate new officers.

The Cole County Historical Society was hostess at a meeting at the society's museum on September 21 when Mrs. Lawrence Jones spoke on early English, French, and American fashion prints, dating from fashion magazines of 1797 to 1897.

On loan at the society's museum at the present time is an evening gown of Mrs. Harry S. Truman, which was formally presented to the Missouri Resources Museum in ceremonies in the governor's office November 2 when Lieutenant-Governor James T. Blair, Jr., accepted the gift for the state. The dress is displayed at the society's museum along with its collection of gowns of the wives of Missouri governors.

The Hickory County Historical Society held an exhibit last summer in connection with the Hickory County Fair. Named "The Hickory County Historical Society, Ye Good Old Days," one table held pictures of old schools, churches, and families, a second held a collection of old Bibles and newspapers, and others displayed old dishes, samplers, and a wedding dress fifty-two years old. Over 500 people registered at the tables which held the exhibits.

The society met November 9 at Wheatland with several members of the Pettis County Historical Society as guests. Two films from the Missouri Resources and Development Division were shown as well as some slides belonging to Earl Jenkins, editor of the *Hermitage Index*.

The first fall meeting of the current year of the Historical Association of Greater St. Louis was held November 9 at Washington University. Jay Monaghan, secretary of the Illinois Historical Society, spoke on "Safari in Liberia, Africa's Only Negro Republic."

The Jackson County Historical Society held its annual meeting October 15, at the society's room in the Independence library. Henry A. Bundschu, a charter member of the society, spoke on "Distinguished Visitors Who Have Been This Way."

Officers for the year were elected as follows: Rufus Burrus, president; John H. Hardin, vice-president; Mrs. H. H. Haukenberry, recording secretary; Sybil Sewell, corresponding secretary; and Harry Sturges, treasurer. The late N. D. Jackson, former president, and E. M. Stayton, retiring president, were elected honorary presidents of the society.

A boat trip on the Missouri River was enjoyed by the Native Sons of Kansas City on September 21 when they embarked on the *Sergeant Floyd* for Napoleon, Missouri, as the guests of Lt. Col. Lawrence J. Lincoln, district engineer, and Lt. Col. Paul West, executive official, U. S. Army engineers. The party returned from Napoleon by bus.

Four early oil paintings by Augustus Beller, Weston artist of the mid-nineteenth century, have recently been discovered and were shown in Weston, September 20, to officers and members of the Platte County Historical Society at a tea given in the home of Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Bless in honor of Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society, and Mrs. Shoemaker. Historical sites in the county visited by the Shoemakers were Pleasant Ridge Baptist Church, the Henry McDowell home, and Flintrock Primitive Baptist Church.

The St. Louis County Historical Society sponsored the dedication ceremonies on October 1 of Jefferson Barracks Historical Park which will be owned and operated by St. Louis County. The society also presented a plaque designating the area as a historical park, and giving the date of dedication and the names of the county judges at the time.

ERRATA

These corrections should be made in the July and October issues of the *Missouri Historical Review*:

July. The caption under the picture on page 370 should read "Church and Rectory of St. Francis Regis as Sketched by Father Nicholas Point, S. J., the Second Resident Priest: 1840-1841. Taken from a painting of the sketch by George Fuller Green of Kansas City."

October. Page 37, footnote 7 should be changed to "The Church of the Immaculate Conception."

An excerpt from a letter from Mrs. W. P. Bowdry of Fort Worth, Texas, in regard to the subhead on pages 70-71 reads as follows:

"In the John Bingham Family division, speaking of the letters to John and his wife Polly written by Stephen Harnsberger of Virginia, the name is given as *Stephen Harshberger* and Stephen is mentioned as the father of Mrs. Polly Bingham. Which is a mistake. Mrs. Polly Bingham's father was *Jacob Harshberger* of Rockingham County, Va., and in his will dated Feb. 14, 1827, he appointed *Stephen Harnsberger* as one of his executors. Stephen was the lawyer who settled up the estates

of both Jacob Harshberger and his wife Barbara Buschong and apparently was not related to them. The names being so similar this is a very natural mistake. Also on page 71 the date of Geo. Caleb Bingham's first wife is given as 1849. She died in Arrow Rock, Nov. 29, 1848. And the name of this writer is *Bowdry* not *Bowdery*, though this is a usual happening. I always have to spell my name whenever I give it for any reason. Originally *Baudre*, since the flight of the Huguenots from France in the 1500s, the name has been spelled with every conceivable variation."

ANNIVERSARIES

On September 10, forty-three alumni and friends of old Grand River College gathered on the former campus grounds at Edinburg for the 100th anniversary of the school. Organized in 1850, it was incorporated February 27, 1851. Plans are being made by a committee, headed by Herbert Wayman of Princeton, to erect an iron memorial arch on the site and to establish a Grand River College memorial library.

The Christian Church of Brunswick, Missouri, celebrated its 100th anniversary on November 5 with all-day services. The Rev. D. D. McAdams, pastor of the First Christian Church at Slater, spoke on "Heritage of the Church." An anniversary booklet giving a history of the church was prepared by Mr. and Mrs. L. E. Merrill.

Park College, Parkville, commemorated its seventy-fifth year by celebrations beginning with Alumni Day June 3, 1950, the baccalaureate service, June 4, commencement exercises June 5, and a diamond jubilee convocation at the beginning of the school year on September 25. The principal speaker at the convocation was Francis B. Sayre, United States representative in the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

The West Plains Chamber of Commerce celebrated its fiftieth year of continuous operation with a golden anniversary banquet on October 19. Special tribute was paid and a gift presented to Arch T. Hollenbeck, the oldest charter member.

Speakers for the evening were Admiral Harry A. Baldridge, of the United States Naval Academy and a former resident of Willow Springs, Lieutenant-Governor James T. Blair, Jr., and Henry C. Rethwisch, executive vice-president of the Missouri Chamber of Commerce.

NOTES

Missouri Day, October 2, was celebrated in Cape Girardeau by a pilgrimage to historic sites in and around the community which was arranged by the Associated Committees of Historic Cape Girardeau. School children served as guides at the sixteen locations visited.

The \$110,000 Sever Memorial library at Kahoka was dedicated October 6 with an all-day open house program. Made possible by the generosity of the late Henry Edwin Sever, publisher of Redpath's *History of the World* and the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the building will house more than 14,000 books and 472 records.

The first "Mid-America Annual," a regional art exhibition of the works of artists from a ten-state area, opened with a preview November 4, in the Nelson Gallery of Art. The exhibition was sponsored by the Mid-America Artists Association, which was organized early in 1950, the Nelson Gallery of Art, and the Kansas City Art Institute.

The annual business meeting of the Missouri Archaeological Society was held at Van Meter State Park in Saline County, October 15, with sixty members present. Henry Hamilton, vice-president of the organization, spoke on the remains from the village site that was inhabited by the Missouri Indians south of the Missouri River.

A highway marker, erected by the Illinois Historical Society in August to mark the camp site where Lewis and Clark trained their exploring company during the winter of 1803-1804, was dedicated October 16 with ceremonies in charge of the Madison County Historical Society of Illinois. Donal Lewis,

president of the county society, introduced Irving Dilliard who gave the dedicatory address.

Miss N. Louise Wright, dean of the Swinney Conservatory of Music at Fayette, has given to the Society a number of pieces of music of her own composition. Fourteen of these pieces were received from the Boston Music Company, twenty-seven from G. Schirmer, New York publisher, six from Elkan-Vogel, Philadelphia publisher, and sixteen from Theodore Presser, publisher of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

A photostat copy of the minute book of the West Plains Chamber of Commerce, July 10, 1900-December 10, 1901, has been added to the Society's manuscript collection. The minute book, including reports of the first meeting of the organization, was loaned to the Society for photostating by A. T. Hollenbeck, West Plains.

An attractive booklet describing the establishment of Arrow Rock Tavern and its subsequent history until purchased by the State of Missouri for restoration by the D. A. R. in 1923 has been received by the Society as a gift from Mrs. E. E. Hailey. The booklet was published by the Arrow Rock chapter of the D. A. R.

An unusual map of St. Louis, made by Chuck Flachmann, an insurance broker of that city, and printed on antique offset paper by the Von Hoffmann Press, Inc., also of St. Louis, is titled "A Melange of Landmarks, Old and New of an Historic City."

The Missouri Historical Society met in the Jefferson Memorial October 27 to hear John A. Bryan give an illustrated talk on "Iron Work in the Mississippi Valley."

George Hiram Brownell of Elkhorn, Wisconsin, widely known authority on the life and writings of Mark Twain and secretary and director of the Mark Twain Research Foundation, Missouri, died in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on June 8. Mr. Brownell edited the publication, *The Twainian*.

The Twainian, a magazine devoted to the study of Mark Twain, has moved its publication office from Elkhorn, Wisconsin, to Perry, Missouri. This move was occasioned by the death of its former editor, George Hiram Brownell, and the election of its new editor, Chester L. Davis, attorney-at-law, of Perry. R. E. Allen, president of the Perry State Bank, has been appointed a member of the board of governors of the Mark Twain Research Foundation, as well as treasurer of the organization.

Swing, a bi-monthly magazine edited by Don Davis and published in Kansas City, Missouri, labels its unusually attractive midsummer issue the "Kansas City Centennial Souvenir" issue. It gives the script of "Thrills of a Century," the pageant by Herbert O. Brayer, which was presented nightly in Kansas City June 3-July 10; thirty-three pages of photographs of the celebration; and four good articles on Kansas City.

The Pioneer is the title of the bulletin which is being published quarterly by the Kansas City Museum Association under the editorship of Charles G. Wilder, director of the museum. Attractively bound, the bulletin lists the museum weekly programs and gives the latest news on new exhibits.

A large collection of clippings made by the late Mrs. Charles A. McConn of Liberty was turned over to the Society by Mr. McConn September 20 when Mr. and Mrs. Floyd C. Shoemaker visited in Liberty. The collection, obtained for the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Withers of Liberty, represents many years of work on the part of Mrs. McConn.

A Rural Program for Platte County, Missouri, [1950] has been planned and put out in the form of an eighteen-page mimeographed booklet by the Platte County Farm Bureau Board. It gives a short history of the county dating back to 1819, describes its resources and recent developments, and outlines ten present-day problems with possible solutions.

A special reprint of the *Bolivar Free Press* of September 7 has been published containing a historical sketch of the Missouri Ozarks by W. S. White of Bolivar.

Mr. L. F. Moore of Laclede has the future of Pershing State Park very much at heart. In an article in *The Brookfield Argus* of May 19 he gives a short history of the park and the illustrious general for whom it is named.

The story of the old Randol place on a country road near Cape Girardeau was published in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, August 8, 1950.

An article on historic Arrow Rock Tavern appeared in *The Dallas (Texas) Morning News* of November 5.

Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre has recently written several articles for the *Jefferson Republic* of DeSoto on local historical subjects. One on August 17 was "Notes on County History" and another on September 28 described Jefferson County's early settlers.

Timothy Flint, Massachusetts-born Protestant minister who came to Missouri in 1815, was the author of a series of books giving his impressions of the Indians and pioneers west of the Mississippi. An article on Flint, by W. W. Baker, is given in the *Kansas City Times* of July 31.

Old records found by Brigadier General John A. Harris in the capitol at Jefferson City show that George Caleb Bingham served the state well as adjutant general, 1875-1877, according to an article by Lew Larkin in the *Kansas City Star* of August 2.

An article by Chester A. Bradley in the *Kansas City Star* of August 3 recalls the Civil War battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, and the part Missourians played in it.

A description of Kansas City in 1857, as contained in the book *Beyond the Mississippi* by Albert Dean Richardson, is given in an article by John Edward Hicks in the *Kansas City Times* of August 9.

The Taney County courthouse at Forsyth, which was built shortly after the reign of the Bald Knobbers in that area, is to be razed soon in connection with the Bull Shoals development. Lucile Morris Upton, in an article in the *Kansas City Times* of August 12, describes the historic old building.

Dr. Johnston Lykins and the elegant home which he built in Kansas City in 1857 are the subjects of an article by E. B. Dykes Beachy in the *Kansas City Star* of August 15.

In connection with the centennial celebration in Kansas City this year, Dean Woods, a member of the American Trails Association, traced the exact route of the Santa Fe Trail in Kansas City by means of a careful check of all deeds of record filed in Jackson County between 1832 and 1857. An article by Henry Van Brunt in the *Kansas City Star* of August 20 describes his findings.

The Mound Builders, the unknown race of pre-historic people who built the mounds north of Kansas City, are the subjects of an article by Albert H. Hindman in the *Kansas City Times* of August 22. Interest in the mounds was revived by the showing of the "Mississippi Panorama" at the Atkins auditorium in Kansas City.

An unsigned article in the *Kansas City Star* of September 6 describes Kansas City's Pioneer Mother statue group which stands on a knoll in Penn Valley park. The work of Alexander P. Proctor, sculptor, who died in California on September 4, the bronze monument cost \$100,000 and was the gift of the late Howard Vanderslice to the city in 1927.

A diary of a trip from St. Louis to California in 1850, which was rescued from flood waters in a Sacramento basement, is described by Henry Van Brunt in an article in the *Kansas City Times* of September 13. Written in German by George Michael Hagelstein, the diary was deciphered and translated by a great-grandson of the author.

The Snyder collection of Americana, more than 15,000 books, manuscripts, and first-hand descriptions of the country, is described in an article by Helen Jo Crissman in the *Kansas City Star* of September 18. Assembled by the late Robert M. Snyder, Kansas City resident from 1881 until his death in 1937, the collection was purchased for the University of Kansas City by the late William Volker.

The pioneer's hedge apple or "Osage orange" fence is now rapidly giving way to barbed wire and multiflora roses, according to an article by Mrs. Floyd L. Rheam in the *Kansas City Star* of September 19. Although the old thicket was hard

to control and had dangerous thorns and rambling roots which stole the moisture from surrounding plants, its wood was useful for many purposes and in a timberless country it made a quickly grown and cheap stock fence.

In 1820, Chief White Hair of the Osage Indians, whose village was located near the site of the present community of Papinsville, asked President Monroe to send missionaries to his people and to found a school for them. The story of Harmony Mission, which was accordingly established in 1822, is told in an article by Albert H. Hindman in the *Kansas City Times* of September 26.

"French and Spanish Explorers Opened Kansas to Trade in Days of Indians" is the title of an article by J. M. Dow in the *Kansas City Times* of September 28. He tells of the early explorations of Onate, Dutisne, Vallazus, and De Bourgmont both in Missouri and Kansas.

Chains and torture, bread and water, and one shave a week were routine prison fare in Missouri in 1841, according to an article by Lew Larkin in the *Kansas City Star* of October 4. He bases his information on a book published in 1848 and written by George Thompson, entitled *Prison Life and Reflections*.

An article by W. W. Baker in the *Kansas City Times* of October 10 calls attention to the October, 1950, centennial issue of *Harper's Magazine*. It includes an article from the February, 1867, issue on "Wild Bill" Hickok and his duel with David Tutt in Springfield, Missouri, in 1866. The *Times* reprints a picture of the event drawn for *Harper's*.

James Anderson and George Fuller Green, both of Kansas City, are the subjects of an article by Mrs. Clyde Porter in the *Kansas City Times* of October 26. Their activities in collecting and preserving data for the Native Sons of Kansas City on the history of Kansas City has been of great help to authors and research students.

According to an article in the *Kansas City Times* of November 1, the old Missouri capitol-in-exile in Marshall, Texas, is to be torn down. Another historic building in Marshall, the Missouri governor's mansion, was recently razed.

Missouri's little old rural school buildings are finding a new life as community centers according to an article by Mae Traller in the *Kansas City Times* of November 3.

In an article, "Scenes of Natural Beauty and Historic Associations Give Way to Industry," in the *Kansas City Star* of November 4, Mrs. Ethel Massie Withers tells of the changes made in the Clay County scene by the coming of the Ford Motor Company plant.

An article by Robert Birbeck in the *King City Tri-County News* for September 1 gives some interesting data on early tombstones and old cemeteries in Gentry County.

The building of the Santa Fe Railroad bridge across the Missouri River in Ray County in 1887-1888 is the subject of an interesting factual story of the event by E. L. Pigg in *The Liberty Tribune* of September 21.

A sidelight on the exhibit of rare old silver at the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, is contained in an article by Mrs. Robert S. Withers in *The Liberty Tribune* of September 21. A committee of Clay County women was appointed to find pieces of silver for the exhibit antedating 1830. Their success in finding forty-one such pieces and some stories connected with the pieces make interesting reading.

A biographical sketch of Judge A. H. Buckner, who served six terms in the national House of Representatives, 1872-1882, appears in the *Mexico Evening Ledger*, September 28, 1950.

The Panhandle (Texas) *Herald* of August 11 tells of a membership drive by David M. Warren in behalf of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society of Canyon, Texas, which resulted in five new life memberships with dues of \$100 each and 114 new annual memberships with dues of \$3 a year. The article is headed by a picture of the six directors of the First National Bank of Panhandle, of which Mr. Warren is president, all of whom are life members.

The St. Charles *Daily Cosmos-Monitor* of October 5 contains an article, compiled by the Chamber of Commerce, on St. Charles history from the time of Louis Blanchette to the present.

Pioneer salesmen who made the rounds of rural Missouri selling home remedies, extracts, spices, and livestock remedies were called "medicine men," according to an article by Hallie Barrow in the *St. Joseph Gazette*, September 28, 1950.

An article by Bartlett Boder in the fall issue of the *St. Joseph Museum Graphic* gives the translated text of several letters in French from Joseph Robidoux to Jean Laffite, the famous pirate, in 1818, photostatic copies of which were presented to the St. Joseph Historical Society by John Andrechynne Lafitte, of Kansas City, great-grandson of Jean Laffite. According to the article, Jean Laffite later came to St. Louis, changed his name to Lafflin, operated a gun-powder factory there, and died in Alton, Illinois, May 5, 1854, where he is buried.

Events and personal details in the life of Confederate General Sterling Price are recalled in an article by Joseph Gallagher which appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 1, 1950.

An account of the arrival by wagon of a fur caravan returning from the Rockies to St. Louis, October 10, 1830, appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 22, 1950. The caravan was owned by Jedediah Smith, William Sublette, and David Jackson.

Midway, Missouri, is the subject of a feature article by Peter Wyden in the Everyday Magazine section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of October 1.

The first Veiled Prophet parade and ball in St. Louis, October 8, 1878, is recalled in an article by Foster Eaton in the *St. Louis Star-Times*, October 2, 1950.

A copy of an official report of Confederate General Benjamin McCulloch on the Battle of Wilson's Creek was published in the *Springfield Daily News*, August 9, 1950. This "Official Battle Report" was sent to the newspaper by W. L. Dodds, Branson historian.

A description and some of the historical background of Missouri's "Irish Wilderness," a 327,000-acre area of Clark National Forest in parts of Oregon, Ripley, Carter, and Shannon counties, by Eddie Bass, appears in the *Springfield Sunday News and Leader*, August 20, 1950.

A detailed story of the history of the Civil War Battle of Wilson's Creek by Lucile Morris Upton was published in the *Springfield Leader and Press* and the *Sunday News and Leader* during September, 1950. The first of the seven articles in the series was published Sunday, September 10, and other installments followed on September 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17. The series was designed to arouse interest in new efforts to purchase the battlefield area 12 miles southwest of Springfield for a public park.

Items of the early history of Garber, Taney County, are discussed by Fred Williams, Taneyville, in an article appearing in the *Springfield Daily News*, October 27, 1950.

The West Plains Daily Quill published a special historical edition, October 19, 1950, commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the West Plains Chamber of Commerce.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume I: 1760-1776. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Associate Editors: Lyman H. Butterfield and Mina R. Bryan. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1950. 679 pp.) With the appearance in May, 1950, of this first volume of a contemplated 52-volume series, the beginning may be seen of a thorough and scholarly collection of Jefferson's papers. Over 50,000 items have been collected by the editors. Jefferson kept a record of and sometimes a duplicate copy of many of the 18,000 letters which he wrote and the 25,000 which were written to him. The inclusion of the latter as well as the former and the use of splendid

footnotes have added immeasurably to the continuity and the understanding of the development of Jefferson's ideas as well as of the early growth of the Republic. Volume I begins with a letter written by Jefferson in 1760 at the age of sixteen and ends in 1776 when Jefferson, then thirty-three, was aiding in remaking the government of Virginia.

Mark Twain as a Literary Artist. By Gladys Carmen Bellamy. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 396 pp.) The author has made a careful study of the works of Mark Twain as well as of the various authorities, such as Bernard DeVoto, Minnie M. Brashear, Van Wyck Brooks, and Edward Wagenknecht, who have published studies of him. She differs with them on many points and she comes forth with a new and interesting estimate of him as an author. That pessimism and determinism lowered his potentialities as a creative author and that he was much more of a conscious craftsman than is generally thought are two of the views which Miss Bellamy sets forth in this recent thought-provoking volume. A good bibliography and index are included.

Captain Sam Grant. By Lloyd Lewis. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950. 512 pp.) Seldom is one privileged to read a biography which is so scholarly throughout and filled with such a wealth of historical material but which is still so warmly human and sympathetic with its central figure. As the title signifies, the author portrays the man, himself, Sam Grant, with his frailties and his virtues during the first forty years of his life including West Point, the Mexican War, and his St. Louis and Galena years up to the point where he is given command of the Illinois 7th District Regiment in 1861. An excellent index and bibliography complete the volume.

The Peanut Man. By Harry J. Albus. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1948. 89 pp.) This "junior" biography of the famous Negro scientist, George Washington Carver, who was born near Diamond, Missouri, is written in language simple enough to be enjoyed by children but also interesting enough to be read by their elders. Some

of Dr. Carver's achievements were the development of 118 products from the sweet potato and 300 from the peanut.

The First Transcontinental Railroad: Central Pacific: Union Pacific. By John Debo Galloway. (New York: Simmons-Boardman, 1950. 319 pp.) This book is authoritatively written by an engineer about one of the biggest engineering feats in this country—the building of the first transcontinental railroad from Chicago to Sacramento. From the start of the Central Pacific at Sacramento, January 8, 1863, and of the Union Pacific at Omaha, December 3 of the same year, until their union on May 10, 1869, at Promontory, Utah, the story is one of almost unsurmountable difficulties. A bibliography and index are included.

The Way West. By A. B. Guthrie, Jr. (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1949. 340 pp.) Very effectively, without overplaying his hand in the slightest, the author tells a relatively simple story of the trek to Oregon of some 100-odd pioneers who gathered at the rendezvous near Independence in the 1840's. Some, such as Lije Evans, were going for the purpose of helping secure Oregon for the United States and also to give young Brownie Evans a better chance to succeed; others like Hank McBee were clearing out from under a load of debt; but all were perforce united for the duration of the journey made under the guidance of mountain man Dick Summers who "didn't hanker after things; he had all that he wanted."

The House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels. By Albert Johannsen. Two vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 476+443 pp.) The house of Beadle and Adams published its first dime novel in 1860 and for over twenty years continued to ride the crest of the wave of popularity which followed the introduction of these stories of the lurid Western adventures of Kit Carson, Daniel Boone, Calamity Jane, and the like. Volume I gives a history of the publishing firm and a bibliography of its publications; volume II gives short biographies of magazine articles and a very useful index which indicates that the locale of a great many of the novels was found to be in Missouri.

American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 years: 1690 to 1950. By Frank Luther Mott. (New York: The Macmillan Company, Revised Edition, 1950. 835 pp.) This edition of Dean Mott's authoritative volume on the history of journalism is much the same as the original one, published in 1940, with the exception of five additional chapters on "Journalism in the 1940's." These chapters describe the news coverage of World War II, government and the press, major newspaper changes, management problems, and the status of news during the decade.

Steamboating: Sixty-Five Years on Missouri's Rivers. By Captain William L. Heckman. (Kansas City: Burton Publishing Co., 1950. 284 pp.) "Steamboat Bill" Heckman sketches in the highlights of his more than sixty years experience on the "Big Muddy" and its tributaries. Tall tales of Uncle Ben Jewel, fish tales told along the river, the captain's own experiences, and pictures of boats which have figured in his life are combined in a style as rambling as the Missouri itself to present an authentic picture of early river life. A good introduction by Dan Sauls is included.

Two Captains West. By Albert and Jane Salisbury. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1950. 235 pp.) This one-volume guide book, based on the original journals and maps of Lewis and Clark, relocates the camp sites and natural phenomena seen by the famous explorers, gives accurate directions on how to reach them, and supplies 160 maps and pictures of these places of interest along the route. The authors themselves covered the trail from St. Louis to the Pacific and their excellent condensation of the *Journals* should awaken an active interest in historical exploration. End papers and forty drawings by Carter Lucas add to the book's attractiveness. Index included.

Here Rolled the Covered Wagons. By Albert and Jane Salisbury. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1948. 256 pp.) The authors have covered part of the old covered wagon trail through Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and

North Dakota and have described nearly 100 historic spots enroute. The text itself is interesting and the binding and paper used excellent but the pictures, 223 in number, leave something to be desired. Many of them are of landmarks, monuments, and sites of non-existent buildings.

Astoria. By Washington Irving. (Portland, Ore.: Binford & Mort, Publishers, 1950 Clatsop Edition. 467 pp.) A new edition of this western classic, called the "earliest American industrial history of importance," has been made in the region where the events described took place. Excellently illustrated by Harold Cramer Smith, who also did the attractive end-papers and dust jacket, the story of John Jacob Astor's Pacific enterprise is reprinted in good clear type conducive to reading.

History of the Missouri State Medical Association. By Robert E. Schlueter. (Fulton: Ovid Bell Press, 1950. 40 pp.) Dr. Schlueter has done a remarkable job in assembling the history of the Missouri Medical Association since its inception in 1850, even to the inclusion of pictures of ninety of the presidents. His material, systematically arranged under the dates in bold type, is a useful aid to research.

Sam Hildebrand Rides Again. By Henry C. Thompson. (Bonne Terre, Mo.: Steinbeck Publishing Co., 1950. 113 pp.) Sam Hildebrand was born in St. Francois County in 1836 but it was not until 1861, when the Civil War was tearing the country and even families apart, that he became involved in serious trouble. Finding friends in the South, he became a major in the Confederate army, and at the close of the war continued as a bushwhacker until he was shot and killed in Illinois in 1872. This biography is a sympathetic treatment of an interesting subject.

Robert Morrison Davis. No author. (St. Louis: Privately printed, 1943. 41 pp.) This booklet, printed in 1943 in memory of "Bob" Davis, the first Missouri lawyer casualty in World War II, is filled with sympathetic and laudatory letters

from fellow officers in the air corps, his friends, and relatives. They reveal Bob's outstanding character and the nature of his close relationship with his parents, Judge and Mrs. Walter N. Davis of Kirkwood.

A History of the First Baptist Church. Slater, Missouri. By Virgil V. Edmonds. (Privately printed, 1950. [156 pp.]) Saturday, September, 21, 1850, was a memorable day in Saline County history for on that day a little group of families joined together to establish a church near Slater. From that small beginning, the author traces the development of what became the First Baptist Church of Slater whose hundredth anniversary celebration was the occasion for the publication of this well-written history. A church roll as of July 28, 1950 is included.

History of Hannibal Presbytery. By Thomas S. Hickman. (n.p.: [1950], 97 pp.) The Reverend Thomas S. Hickman, pastor of the Wellsville Larger Parish, consisting of seven churches, has compiled this history as a contribution to the Sesqui-Centennial of National Missions work of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. He states that "all of the early Presbyterian work west of the [Mississippi] River was begun as a Home Mission enterprise." Divided into three parts, "The Beginning," "The Particular Churches of Presbytery," and "117 Years of History—Introduction," the booklet contains a number of pictures of early churches.

Sadie McCoy Crank (1863-1948) Pioneer Woman Preacher in the Christian Church (Disciples). Compiled by E. T. Sechler. (Hermitage, Mo.: The Index, 1950. 51 pp.) Mrs. Crank's life was a long and busy one from her birth in Illinois in 1863 to her death in Missouri in 1948. Some idea of her inexhaustable energy for her church, for her family, and for everyone who needed her help may be gained from this booklet made up of quotations from Mrs. Crank's diary and interviews and letters from those who knew her intimately.

Reprint of Articles Published by the Lead Belt News, Flat River, Missouri, Following Visits to Various Operating Plants of St. Joseph Lead Company and Affiliated Companies in South-

east Missouri. By Wendell Lee Bouchard. ([Flat River]: [1950], 111 pp.) Some months ago W. L. Bouchard, editor of *The Lead Belt News*, some business men of the community, and a few mine officials made trips through the Bonne Terre mines, mines 11 and 17, Leadwood mines, the Herculanum smelter, Mine LaMotte mines, Doe Run mines, and the St. Joseph Lead Company offices. Mr. Bouchard described these trips in successive articles in *The Lead Belt News* and, when they aroused a good deal of interest, had them reprinted in booklet form.

The Turquoise Trail. By Shirley Siefert. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 409 pp.) The trail from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe and Chihuahua was one of high adventure but it was also one of hardship and heart break for eighteen-year-old Susan Shelby Magoffin who accompanied her Irish trader husband there in 1846-47. Based upon the heroine's own diary of the journey, the story presents living history as seen from a pioneer woman's point of view in this excellently written novel.

No Dark Valley. By Nancy Barker. (Chicago: Good News Publishers, 1949. 180 pp.) Flute, the little Ozark mining town, is the dark valley in young Hylie Ricker's life but light comes when she hears the Gospel and its message and the story ends happily for her and the man she loves. The book presents a picture of Ozark hill country life.

Fire in the Wind. By Anne Tedlock Brooks. (United States: Arcadia House, 1950. 239 pp.) A picture of St. Louis life in the 1890's with its Veiled Prophet's ball, the election of William McKinley, and a more leisurely way of life are the backdrop for this romance.

OBITUARIES

ZANIA MAY BOWLIN: Born in Miller Co., Mo., died in Harrisonville, Mo., August 6, 1950. A graduate of Central Missouri State College, she was county superintendent of schools for Cass County, 1927-1949, and was elected a member of the Missouri legislature in 1948.

TOM A. BROWN: Born near Brimson, Mo., Mar. 18, 1876; died in Melbourne, Mo., Sept. 28, 1950. Educated at Grand River College, Edinburg, Avalon College, Trenton, and at the State Teachers College at Maryville and at Kirksville, he became a teacher, a merchant, and a farmer. He was first elected a representative of Harrison County in the House of Representatives in 1918 and was re-elected in 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, and 1948.

JOHN R. A. CROSSLAND: Born in 1862 (?); died in St. Joseph, Mo., Sept. 13, 1950. Minister-resident and consul-general to Liberia during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, he had been a practising physician in St. Joseph for sixty years. He was a 33rd degree Scottish Rite Mason, Prince Hall affiliation.

THEODORE GRAEBNER: Born in Watertown, Wis., Nov. 23, 1876; died in Clayton, Mo., Nov. 14, 1950. Professor of theology at Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, for thirty-seven years and a widely known Lutheran teacher and editor, he was the author of more than eighty volumes. He was one of the founders of the Lutheran Layman's League, a charter member of the Missouri Academy of Science, and a director of the Concordia Historical Institute.

FRANK TROWBRIDGE HODGDON: Born in Quincy, Ill., Apr. 13, 1873; died in Hannibal, Mo., Oct. 2, 1950. A graduate of Dartmouth in 1894, he had been prominent in banking and civic affairs for over fifty years. In 1918 he was elected president of the Missouri Bankers' Association and in 1937 he accepted appointment as a member of the Missouri Cancer Commission, later serving as its chairman, 1938-1948. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri for a number of years.

MRS. CARRIE POLK JOHNSTON: Born in Fort Scott, Kan., Dec. 27, 1865; died in Lathrop, Mo., Oct. 17, 1950. A graduate of Plattsburg College in 1882, she was co-author of *History of Clinton and Caldwell Counties, Missouri* (1923).

GUY DONNELL KIRBY: Born in Springfield, Mo., Mar. 3, 1873; died in Springfield, Mo., Oct. 28, 1950. A graduate of Drury College, he served as circuit judge of the Twenty-third Circuit, 1910-1928 and 1934-1946. Judge Kirby was selected by the artist, Thomas Hart Benton, to serve as his model for a typical Missouri judge in painting his famous murals in the state capitol at Jefferson City.

HENRY F. LAWRENCE: Born near Greensburg, Ind., Jan. 31, 1868; died in Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 12, 1950. A banker by profession, he was elected county clerk of Daviess County, 1906-1910, and served two terms as mayor of Cameron before his election in 1920 as representative from the Third District in Congress. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1920.

BURTIS MCGIE LITTLE: Born in Harrisonville, Mo., Jan. 21, 1884; died in Lexington, Mo., Oct. 3, 1950. He received his B.S. degree at the University of Missouri and taught in the Philippines before coming to Lexington as superintendent of schools where he became a banker from 1919 until the time of his death. In 1938 he served as mayor of Lexington. He was member of the Lexington Historical Society, serving as its president, and had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1927, fifth vice-president of the Society, 1931-1938, and fourth vice-president, 1938-1941.

EUGENE W. NELSON: Born in Taylor, Mo., Sept. 21, 1875; died in Hannibal, Mo., Aug. 1, 1950. A graduate of the Southeast Missouri State College and the University of Missouri, from which he received an LL.B. degree, he was four times elected prosecuting attorney of Marion County. He served as state representative, 1927-1933, the last two years of which he was speaker of the house.

CORLEY L. OVERALL: Born near Yorkville, Tenn., June 17, 1882; died in Campbell, Mo., Oct. 1, 1950. Educated at West Tennessee College, Dyer, Tenn., he had been editor of the *Campbell Citizen* since 1900 (1900-1918 in partnership with

his father) and was a member of the Missouri House of Representatives 1913-1914 and 1933-1934. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

HARRY SMITH: Born in 1887 (?); died in Eldorado Springs, Sept. 3, 1950. Except for time spent in the armed forces in World War I, he had been a printer all of his life and was, at the time of his death, one of the publishers of the *Eldorado Springs Sun*.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

A PRETTY GIRL IS LIKE A MELODY, THEY'LL BOTH HAUNT YOU

From the Chicago *Herald-American*. Submitted by Ray V. Denslow, Trenton, Missouri, October 29, 1950.

Robert Q. Lewis asked Burl Ives, "Exactly what is a folk song?" "I don't know," Ives admitted. "It's like a woman. You can recognize one, but you can't explain it."—Earl Wilson.

AND THAT BRANCH IS ONLY A TWIG

From the *Kansas City Times*, March 10, 1950.

Pfeifer, Kan., a town of fifty residents, installed a modern dial telephone system, becoming it is believed, the smallest community to have such equipment. Then along came Indian Grove, Mo., which has a population of twenty-six persons, with the information that it enjoys the use of a modern dial system. Both towns can take pride in their achievement. It is most interesting, but while these communities have gone a long way in settling the question of which is the smallest dial-phone town, we still are wondering if Columbia, Mo., has not attained the record of being the largest city in America on a branch line railroad.

MISSOURI BEAT CONGRESS TO THE DRAW

Special historical press release of January 14, 1949, prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Missouri's Emancipation Proclamation, written and signed by Governor Thomas C. Fletcher, eighty-four years ago this week, three weeks before Congress proposed the Thirteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, has been placed on special exhibit by the State Historical Society of Missouri here.

The original document, which has been preserved in good condition, is written in longhand and was issued by Governor Fletcher, January 11, 1865, the same day the State Constitutional Convention of 1865 passed an ordinance abolishing slavery and authorizing the governor's proclamation.

The proclamation was forwarded to the U. S. House of Representatives by the General Assembly which identified Governor Fletcher as the "first governor of free Missouri."

The Emancipation Proclamation proclaims that Missouri shall have "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except in punishment of crime

whereof the party shall have been duly convicted . . . no person . . . shall be subject to any abridgement of liberty, except such as the law shall prescribe for the common good, or know any master but God."

Although Emancipation Day in Missouri could well be January 11 or any one of at least four other significant dates in Missouri history relative to the abolition of slavery, Missouri Negroes have chosen August 4 as the date of their annual celebrations.

Emancipation rallies were held in Boonville and Moberly in 1918 and a series of central Missouri Emancipation celebrations were held in Columbia annually from 1920 to 1930.

The reason for the selection of August 4 as the day of Emancipation celebration by Missouri Negroes is not known. Although newspaper articles of the 1920's state that the celebration "honors the Emancipation Proclamation" and "commemorates the freeing of the slaves by President Lincoln," the August 4 date does not correspond with the date of any known law or other event connected with the freeing of Missouri slaves.

There are several significant dates in Missouri history relative to the abolition of slavery but only one of these falls in August.

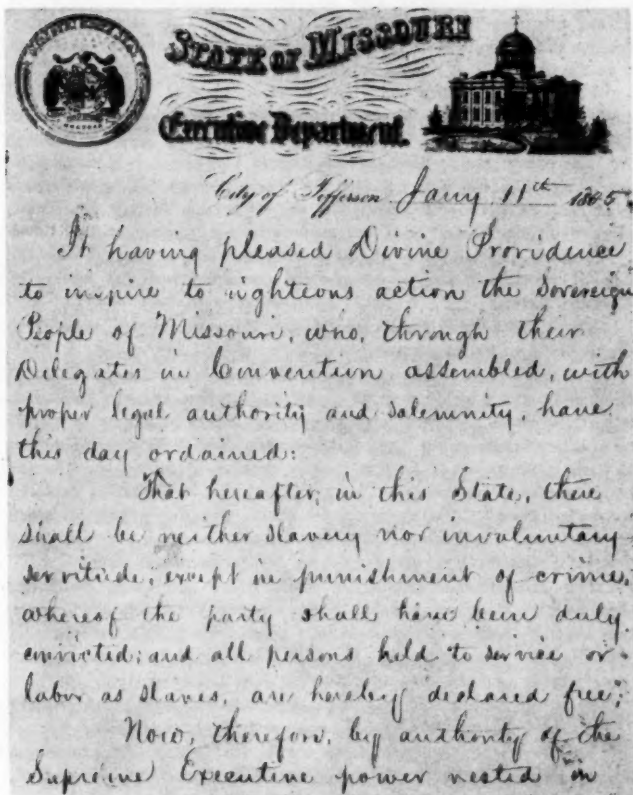
The one August date is August 30, 1861, when General John C. Fremont, commander of Federal troops in Missouri, issued a proclamation, effective in Missouri, stating that the slaves of "those who will take up arms against the United States or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field . . . are hereby declared free men." The more conservative Unionists deplored the introduction of the slavery issue openly into the conflict between the North and the South and President Lincoln issued an order revoking General Fremont's proclamation twelve days after it was issued.

The Missouri Constitution of 1865, which specifically prohibited slavery in the state, was adopted by the Missouri Constitutional Convention, April 8, 1865, and submitted to a vote of the people the following June 6 when it was approved. Governor Fletcher declared the constitution formally adopted in a proclamation issued July 4, 1865.

President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was issued January 1, 1863, after an earlier warning announcement, Sept. 22, 1862.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution prohibiting slavery in the United States was proposed to the states, January 31, 1865, by Congress. The amendment was ratified by the Missouri General Assembly, February 10, 1865. Missouri was the twelfth state to ratify the amendment. After ratification by twenty-seven states, the Thirteenth Amendment was declared adopted in a proclamation issued by the U. S. Secretary of State, December 18, 1865.

There is a possibility that Missouri's Emancipation Day celebrations on August 4 have reference to the abolition of slavery by the British in the West Indies, August 1, 1834, although the connection, if any, has not been established.



Missouri's Emancipation Proclamation

me by the Constitution of Missouri, I,
Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of the
 State of Missouri, do proclaim

That hereafter and forever
 no person within the jurisdiction
 of this State shall be subject to
 any abridgment of liberty except
 such as the law shall prescribe
 for the common good, or know any
 master but God.

In testimony whereof, I have
 hereto hereto signed my name,
 and caused the great seal
 of the State to be affixed, at
 the City of Jefferson, this
 eleventh day of January,
 A D eighteen hundred and sixty
 five.

T. C.

Thos C Fletcher

By the Governor: (signed) Francis Rodman

Secretary of State

Signed by Governor Thomas C. Fletcher January 11, 1865

PONY EXPRESS STATION STILL STANDING

From the *Kansas City Times*, August 17, 1950.

A study of the Pony Express route has convinced Dr. Howard R. Driggs, national president of the American Pioneer Trails association, that the Hollenberg Ranch station, two miles east of Hanover [Kansas] is the only original and unaltered station still standing where it was built on the Oregon trail . . . The station was erected in 1857 by G. H. Hollenberg, founder of Hanover . . . it also served as a stage-coach depot and supply station for travelers on the Oregon trail when that route was taken by thousands of pioneers on their way to the Northwest.

LONG COLD WINTER OF 1855-56

From the *Kansas City Enterprise*, Jan. 26, 1856.

On the night of the 24th of December, 1855, the Missouri river at this place was frozen over. It is now near five weeks that the river has been a highway for teams of horses, mules, and oxen. We put this fact on record for coming years. We now have had near seven weeks of hard freezing—arctic weather. A season unparalleled in the history of this country. People will hereafter refer to the "long cold winter of 1855-56."

From the *Kansas City Enterprise*, Feb. 9, 1856.

The cold weather still continues unabated. On Sunday and Monday mornings the thermometer stood at 28 and 30 degrees below zero . . .

From the *Kansas City Enterprise*, March 1, 1856.

The river at this place broke up on Monday morning last, the 25th of February, 1856—having been closed sixty-two days . . .

EUGENE FIELD MEMORIAL IN DENVER

Extracts from a letter from Malcolm G. Wyer, librarian of the Public Library of the City and County of Denver, to Floyd C. Shoemaker, October 2, 1950.

Eugene Field lived in Denver for about two years and published his first book while he was in this city. Several years ago some of the organizations in the city suggested that the cottage where the Field family lived in Denver should be preserved as a memorial. As a result the building was rented and plans were started to have a Eugene Field memorial there. However, the property was needed for a larger building and it was intended to tear down the cottage. Mrs. J. J. Brown purchased the building and presented it to the City and County of Denver to be used for a memorial to Eugene Field. The Library Commission suggested to the city administration that the

building be moved to one of the city parks and turned over to the Library as a branch. This was done and the building was put into first-class condition and has been operating as the Eugene Field Branch Library since 1930. Of course moving the building and remodeling it cost far more than the purchase price of the building itself.

One of the best collections of books by Eugene Field and association items relating to him was purchased by the President of our Library Commission, the late Frederick R. Ross, and presented to the Public Library. So the Public Library has a Eugene Field Branch building, the former home of the author, and a comprehensive collection of books by and about Eugene Field.

In Washington Park near the Field Branch Library is a brown marble fountain group, Wynken, Blynken, and Nod, by Mabel L. Torrey inspired by the lullaby of Eugene Field.

HEMPEN DAYS

From *The Liberty Tribune*, April 28, 1947. Excerpts from an article by Robert S. Withers.

. . . There were several features of hemp raising that made it fit into the pioneers', particularly slave owning pioneers, way of life. Any amount of ground that could be cleared during the winter could be put in hemp in the spring. The ground was plowed the first time with . . . a "jumping shovel plow." This was a very heavy single shovel plow with a heavy coulter attached to the beam to cut the smaller roots. The ground was harrowed, the seed sown and "brushed in" with a heavy drag made of brush.

The hemp came up before any weeds and grew faster than anything else in the field. It was always sown very thick and the shade that the compact cover made smothered out not only the weeds but any sprouts that wanted to come up the second year.

. . . It was planted early as the ground could be worked and was always mature in August.

The ideal crop was about seven or eight foot high. The stalk was not as large as a man's finger at the base and there were no branches or leaves on the stalk . . . [except] on the top foot . . .

. . . The hemp was all pulled up . . . by hand. Shortly before the Civil War the hemp hook was invented and under many protests by the slaves, was put into use. After they became used to . . . [it] . . . they would have died rather than return to the pulling. The hemp hook was shaped like a letter L, the horizontal section being a blade about 14 inches long and the vertical part having a wooden handle fitted on the iron shaft . . .

When the hemp was ripe the cutter started in to cut a swath, or pull it always facing the sun. . . . In this way he kept in the shade of the tall hemp but with all advantages it was still one of the hottest jobs anyone ever performed. The cutter . . . then spread it out on

the ground evenly . . . The hemp was left on the ground until it had had enough rain on it to make the fiber come loose from the woody stalk, usually until October. The hemp was then . . . shocked just like corn . . . but the shocks were very solid and . . . pointed at the top like small Indian teepees. It stood in the shock until December. It was then "broken out" with a "hemp rake" which consisted of five boards made to fit between each other so that the woody stalk was broken into short pieces called "hurds" and the hurds were then shaken clear of the fiber. A good man could brake 200 pounds a day. The long silky fiber was tied into "hands" and placed in a dry place until it was put into bales for shipment.

Hemp was a cash crop. Any time a planter got it to the river wharf, he could sell it at a good price . . .

So many things came into existence in such a short time that the fall of hemp was almost instantaneous. Sisal came to take its place in cordage. All wooden ships had to be caulked, using hundreds of tons of oakum and they were replaced by steel hulls . . .

Another thing that put hemp out of business was that with all our inventive genius, it is still a crop that requires too much hard labor to be profitable . . .

With the passing of pioneer times and homes were many sentimental uses of hemp . . . The pioneer child was born on a hemp cord bed by the glow of a fire that had been started with a flint and a piece of tow . . . The girls made their shoe strings and the young men cleaned their guns with tow swabs . . . I think we could call these "Hempen Days." Peace to their ashes.

MRS. HEARST AND THE P.T.A.

From the *Kansas City Times* of February 17, 1950. Excerpts from "Missouri Notes" by Chester A. Bradley.

The fifty-third anniversary of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is of special significance to Phelps County, Missouri, because a native of that county, Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, was one of the founders of P.T.A.

She was born on a farm near St. James, Mo., and taught school in that area for several years. She also was the mother of William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper publisher . . .

Rolla observed the P.T.A. anniversary this week with a special program . . .

Tribute was paid to Mrs. Hearst and Mrs. Alice Birney, a resident of Georgia, who was a founder of P.T.A. with Mrs. Hearst. The first national congress of P.T.A. was held on February 17, 1897, in Washington . . .

P.T.A. today has grown from one unit to a membership of more than 5 million persons, and there are more than 163,000 members in Missouri.

CANNON A MUSEUM PIECE AFTER FORTY-SIX YEARS IN A DEEP HOLE

From the *Boonville Central Missouri Republican*, January 5, 1911.

A much sought-after old cannon, captured from Kansas troops by General Sterling Price's men in 1864, was found in a deep hole in Flat creek near Cassville. A party headed by E. F. Helster, secretary of the Kansas Soldiers' Memorial Association, found the gun. It will be placed in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society of Topeka. The cannon was part of the equipment of a force of Kansans under Col. G. W. Veal of Topeka, on a march from Springfield, Mo., to Ft. Smith, Ark. Attacked by Gen. Price's command and driven back toward Springfield, the Kansas forces lost the gun, but rallying, pursued Price's men so closely that they, rather than risk losing the artillery, threw it down a deep hole where it has remained forty-six years.

A LOUISIANA, MISSOURI, SCIENTIST OF NOTE

From *Ozark Life*, May 1931, reprinted in the *Louisiana (Mo.) Press-Journal* of June 2, 1931.

The ideal man, so termed by Gene Stratton Porter, still lives in the quiet riverside town of Louisiana, Mo., where he has followed his hobby of collecting fossils and lepidopterous insects to fame . . .

It is not a little unusual that this famous scientist should steadfastly refuse [to go elsewhere at higher remuneration] and stay on as instructor in the schools where he was graduated as honor student with the first class of the Louisiana High School . . .

Professor R. R. Rowley has the distinction of having in his possession the only collection of white crinoids and blastoids in the world, it may be . . .

No other collector of fossils and specimens of general geology, including lepidopterous insects, has achieved the supremacy of this seer of the hills, who with an eye for color and for form . . . gleaned from the hills over 100,000 fine specimens of invertebrate organisms, besides rare fish remains, four genera and 217 species, which he named and illustrated for various educational magazines. He is the author of 82 papers on fossils, lepidopterous insects, and General Geology . . . besides a text on the geology of Pike county . . .

He has refused [to turn over his specimens to] the British Museum and stands firm in his resolve to retain them [in America] until he has gone a little farther into the realms of science; for although he is seventy-seven years of age, he is mentally alert, and continues to do a man's part in educating the youth in his home town . . .

For a half century Professor Rowley has carried on the study of the habits of the adult lepidopterous insects and his first collection of about forty boxes of specimens was bought by the department of science for the University of Missouri . . .

Gene Stratton Porter relied upon him for scientific accuracy in the preparation of her manuscripts . . .

[Editor's Note: Mr. Rowley died January 26, 1935.]

WHAT DID THE PURITANS DO WHEN THEY REALLY GOT MAD?

From the *Kansas City Star* of March 26, 1950.

Charley Grounds, a Seminole Indian, has risen to a point of order with Congress. He wants the House to remove from one of its committee rooms on Capitol hill a painting wherein an Indian is shown in the act of enthusiastically scalping a white man. The picture is historically wrong, Grounds objects, and the Association of American Indian affairs has turned up data to support his complaint.

It seems that Indians didn't think up the idea of scalping their victims. They were taught that savage custom by the white men whom they didn't invite to take over their land in the first place. Or so the scholarly Smithsonian Institution declared in reports that it published early in this century.

The practice of offering "scalp premiums" was said to have been originated by New England Puritans in 1637 after getting out of patience with some of their uncivilized neighbors. Thus scalping was found to have been taken up among the Indians themselves as a sort of self-defense measure at which they got terribly expert in due time.

That being the case, we can understand the dismay of Charley Grounds over that libelous painting in the House committee room . . .

NO CODDLING IN 1840

Extracts from an article by Lew Larkin in the *Kansas City Star* of October 4, 1950.

Prison life at the Missouri penitentiary here was considerably different a century ago than that of today.

That is revealed in a book written 102 years ago by George Thompson who, with two companions, served almost four years of a 12-year sentence on abolition charges growing out of their attempts to ferry slaves from Missouri into Illinois. The book . . . is owned by Elmer L. Pigg, state comptroller . . . [Another copy is owned by the State Historical Society. It is *Prison Life and Reflections*.]

The three fiercely religious abolitionists were Alanson Work, James Burr and Thompson. They were arrested near Palmyra in Marion County in 1841 . . .

At the prison, the three were informed of the rules. No prisoner could speak to another prisoner, not even in their own cells. They could not look at visitors. They must take off their caps when talking with an officer.

The three prisoners were put in chains. Thompson describes a scene he first night:

"Capt. William Burch, the drunken warden, had come in from his revels towards midnight. He dragged the sufferers from their beds, it being of little consequence whether they were guilty of any misdemeanor or not, and was giving vent to his cruelty by putting them to torture. To hear them scream and writhe and smart under his strap or paddle was to him a rich and sumptuous feast."

Their cell was the closest thing to a medieval torture chamber—twelve feet long and eight feet wide—of brick and plaster with one small, 2-barred window.

When the men first entered the practice was to take food to the cells of the prisoners. Two years later the central eating system was established.

"We had bread and flesh in the morning and at noon," Thompson wrote, "at night bread and water. Now and then beans or some vegetables for dinner. Our bread was cold, hard, heavy cornbread—our meat generally bacon."

The prisoners ate with their fingers, no knives, fork or even spoons allowed . . .

When the three men went in there was little worship. The men worked on Sunday and prayers were not allowed to be said by the men. The cells were examined on Sunday, which also was the day for shaving—once a week . . . There was little or no reading allowed in the cells, no library . . .

There were no funeral ceremonies in those days. A deceased prisoner was placed in a wooden box and was buried . . .

"During the sitting of the Legislature, we were often visited by crowds of the members who would inquire, dodge and look, to get a view of the abolitionists . . ."

Thompson reported that the clothing was always patched and thin, that during the outside work in winter they were not allowed coats and that the blankets on the cots were inadequate in cold weather. The cells were unheated . . .

The writer also reported that when a man came to prison the wardens and guards kept his money and his clothing if the latter was of good quality. There was no hospital and the sick were poorly cared for . . .

In February of 1843 a new regime took over and conditions were improved at the prison. Chains were taken off all inmates . . .

WAS IT MISSOURIANS WHO DISCOVERED BLACK HILLS GOLD?

From the *Kansas City Times*, December 6, 1949. Excerpts from an article by Helen Oitto.

Spearfish, S. D.—The last tragic chapter of a story which began in Missouri in 1832 was written on a lonely mountainside in the Black Hills of South Dakota by the last man left alive . . .

"Came to these hills in 1833, seven of us, De Lacompt—Ezra Kind—G. W. Wood—T. Brown—R. Kent—Wm. King—Indian Crow—all dead but me, Ezra Kind, killed by Indians beyond the high hill, got our gold June 1834."

On the reverse side he wrote in large letters :

"Got all of the gold we could carry, our ponys all got by the Indians. I have lost my gun and nothing to eat, and indians hunting me."

Such is the scene suggested by the so-called Thoen stone, now in the Adams museum at Deadwood, S.D. The stone was discovered March 14, 1887, by Louis Thoen [who] . . . took it home and washed off the dirt. Having come here from Norway, [he] did not know the English language well, so he took the stone to John Cashner, a citizen of Spearfish . . .

Mr. Cashner wrote to newspapers throughout the country for information. He received three letters. The first, later lost, was from a man in Ohio who stated that a relative of his, Ezra Kind, started for the West in 1832 and had never been heard of by his people. J. C. Adams of Allis Hollow, Pa., wrote that R. Kent was an uncle of his father's who went west with some Hudson Bay trappers about 1832 and disappeared.

This letter and the one following are now the property of the South Dakota Historical society :

Troy, Mo.
Feb. 9, 1888

Mr. John Cashner,
Spearfish, South Dakota.

Dear sir: I see in the Detroit Free Press of recent date an account of the killing by Indians of seven men, one of whom—T. Brown—was probably my half-uncle, he having left the state in 1832 or 1833, in company with one Kent . . .

Harvey Brown, Jr. . . .

Another investigator, John S. McClintock, collected enough evidence to lead to the definite conclusion that some of these men came together at Keytesville, Mo., where they were employed as teamsters by Frederick Hicks, who outfitted and sent out a large train loaded with commodities, principally bacon. They left Independence, Mo., in the spring of 1832 as a part of a huge caravan on the trail to Santa Fe, N. M., traveling under the protection of a regiment led by General Walker. Somewhere along the way, they met a Crow Indian who knew of gold in the Black Hills and guided them there in 1833.

No one knows where they found their gold, or what became of it . . .

The residents of Spearfish feel that the first white men to discover gold in this region should have recognition . . . Their plans . . . are to build a road up the mountainside and erect a monument on the spot where the stone carved by Ezra Kind was found.

From the Spearfish, S. Dak. *Queen City Mail*, October 5, 1950. Contributed by Frank Thomson of Spearfish.

"This is a dream that came true," was A. W. Brown's comment last week when the 76-year-old Winfield, Mo., man came to Spearfish to visit the site of the historical Thoen Stone. Brown is the only surviving grandson of the Thompson Brown who is mentioned in the Thoen Stone carvings . . .

Mr. Brown came here last week accompanied by his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Kincaid, and their son, John, of St. Louis, Mo. One of the first persons he notified of his presence here was Mrs. Charles (Helen) Oitto. It was through an article concerning the Thoen Stone written by Mrs. Oitto and published in the Dec. 6, 1949, issue of the *Kansas City Star*, that Mr. Brown's interest in coming to the Black Hills was revived . . .

Last week while Mr. Brown and the Kincaids were here they . . . climbed to the place where the Thoen Stone was found . . .

"Thompson Brown was about 34 years old when he came to the Black Hills," A. W. Brown related last week. "His wife died soon after the youngest child was born. My father was only 5 years old when Thompson Brown went West. He was never heard from again but he did remember that my grandfather was accompanied by a man named Kent. He knew, also, that the two men left Independence, Mo., as part of a wagon train heading west. I imagine that my grandfather and Kent became acquainted while working in the lead mines at Fredericktown, Mo. . . ."

Evidence corroborating Mr. Brown's story was discovered by Doane Robinson, state historian, who wrote in Vol. XII of the Department of History *Collections*:

"In 1833, John K. Townsend, member of the Society of Natural Sciences, accompanied a trading party across country to the Pacific for the purpose of increasing ornithological information. In June of that year he entered in his journal: 'here (Ft. Laramie) two of our free trappers left us for a summer hunt in the Black Hills. These men joined our party at Independence, Mo., and have been traveling at this point for the benefit of our escort.'

"Were the trappers who left Ft. Laramie on June 1, 1833, Bela Kent and Thompson Brown, whose fate is recorded upon the Thoen Stone? Did they pick up at Laramie the remainder of the party enumerated? Shall we write that gold was first discovered in the Black Hills by Kind, Kent, and Brown?"

LOVE FOR A MISSOURI GIRL MAY HAVE SENT
JIM MARSHALL TO CALIFORNIA

From the *Kansas City Times*, November 2, 1949. Excerpts from an article by Mary B. Aker.

. . . Within a year after the opening of the Platte Purchase to white settlers in 1837, James Wilson Marshall arrived in Platte County, Missouri, having drifted westward from his native Hunterdon, N.J. where he had learned from his father the trades of carpentering, cabinet making and coach building . . .

Marshall's chances of success appeared to be as good as any other young man's in the new country . . . Then he met fate in the person of Missouri Ann Green, a red-haired, gray-eyed miss of 17, daughter of Elisha Green and student at Love's academy for young ladies at Liberty . . .

Missouri Ann was a lovely girl, high-spirited and intelligent, with a natural talent for music. Marshall was large and robust, shy in nature and awkward of speech. His lips could not frame the words of love that mounted from his heart. It was different with the dashing young Dr. Frederick Marshall (no relation to James Marshall) who came from New York to practice medicine at Martinsville . . . later removing to Platte City. He was polished and genteel and soon won the hand of Missouri Ann.

In his biography, Marshall has it appear that it was the chills and fever wracking his body because of the damp air of the Missouri river (along with the glowing accounts that were being told of California), that caused him to set out for that faraway land . . .

With his own competent hands he made a wagon . . . sold 129.43 acres of his land . . . [and] set out to join one of the many wagon trains which were heading west . . .

In the spring a part of the train went down the coast to the fort of Capt. John A. Sutter . . . Among them was James W. Marshall . . . He was employed by Sutter as general foreman and superintendent.

He purchased some land and raised stock, but upon his return from the Bear Flag war under Fremont his stock had strayed or had been stolen. He formed a partnership with Sutter to build a saw-mill on the American river fork about forty-five miles from the fort . . . There in the tail-race of the mill, on January 24, 1848, he found the first yellow metal in California to be recognized by actual test as gold.

When the news of the gold find got abroad the horde of gold seekers which overflowed the land ruined both Sutter and Marshall . . . Afterward Marshall followed many enterprises . . . He died unexpectedly in 1885, being then 75 years old. His estate consisted of \$135 in cash. He was buried at Coloma [Calif.] as he had requested and the state appropriated \$9,000 to build a memorial and establish a park at the site of his grave.

ANY HAM, JUST SO IT'S MISSOURI HAM

From the *Kansas City Times*, November 20, 1950, under a date line of Washington, D. C., November 19.

University of Missouri alumni faced a difficult decision at a breakfast today: What county in Missouri produced the finest hams? . . .

Hams from Audrain, Boone, Callaway and Lincoln Counties were served at the breakfast along with a Missouri menu . . .

[The] finding [was] that all the hams were "of such uniformly supreme flavor and excellence as to permit no other award under the evidence than a merited and deserved tie for first place."

The Audrain County ham came from Mitchell White, editor and publisher of the Mexico (Mo.) *Ledger*; the Boone County ham from Robert E. Lee Hill, secretary of the Missouri Bankers' association and former university alumni secretary; the Callaway County ham from Paul Truitt of Millersburg; and the Lincoln County ham from the farm of Representative Clarence Cannon, chairman of the House appropriations committee.

H. J. (Jack) Blanton, veteran editor and publisher of the *Monroe County Appeal*, was supposed to send a fifth entry. But he wrote that he was unable "to find a real Monroe County ham that would be worthy of the occasion." He explained: "Unfortunately, the few farmers who cure hams the old Virginia way have gotten rich . . . Instead of selling hams at \$1 to \$1.50 a pound, they now eat them. The new generation is unwilling to take enough time out for the salting and smoking processes which alone lead to proper flavor and supreme satisfaction . . .

"Over the phone I told Mitch White of my inability to find a real, smoke-cured Monroe County ham for your dinner. He offered to get an Audrain County ham—but perish the thought. That sort is easy to find because it is a mere imitation of the real thing."

A SIDELIGHT ON THE ANNUAL MEETING

Extracts from the *Flywheel*, "the Publication of the Rotary Club," Iron-ton, Mo., November 2, 1950, R. L. Barger, editor.

The State Historical Society of Missouri:

On invitation of one of the Trustees, your editor enjoyed a very pleasant and interesting trip to attend the annual meeting and banquet of the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia last Friday [October 27]. This society, under the capable management of Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, has made an enviable record and it is our understanding has the largest membership of any in the U.S.A., which is now 5188. The society is earnestly supported by a large body of men and women, leaders in their communities, who recognize in it an essential activity in this state and should in no way be neglected. Missouri has a rich heritage. Her past history is replete with actions that have influenced the course of events in many parts of the U. S.

Missouri had its coterie of explorers, statesmen, writers, educators and artisans that had a prominent part in the upbuilding of the entire West. To neglect the collection of important data concerning the past history of Missouri and its leaders would be an inexcusable tragedy. The Society is doing everything possible to collect data before it is too late and preserve it in a manner that it may be an inspiration and a benefit for future generations. Its activities and scope of operations are manifold and it is impossible to give anything like an adequate description in this short article. It is worthy of co-operation and support of every Missourian and if you have any information that should be preserved for the future, the Society would be pleased to hear from you.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

The Arkansas Historical Quarterly, Summer: "Some Folk Ballads and the Background of History," by John Gould Fletcher.

Bulletin, Missouri Historical Society, July: "The Boon's Lick Country"; "Boon's Lick Folk Tales"; "Architecture in the Boon's Lick Country," by Charles van Ravenswaay; "Our Harrisons," by Florence Harrison Bill.

Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. October: "General Grant on Tour," a letter edited by George P. Stimson.

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, October: "William Gustave Polack," by August R. Suelflow; "Martin Samuel Sommer, I," by Roger L. Sommer.

Holiday, October: "St. Louis," by Hamilton Basso.

Hoosier Folklore, April-June, 1950: "Tales from the Ozark Hills," by Vance Randolph.

Michigan History, June: "Mark Twain's Lansing Lecture on Roughing It," by Wallace B. Moffett.

Museum Graphic, Fall: "Early History of St. Joseph Museum," by Orrel Marie Andrews; ". . . Jean Lafite and Joseph Robidoux," by Bartlett Boder.

Saturday Evening Post, October 21: "The Old Master of Mizzou" [Don Faurot], by Bob Broeg.

Time, September 4: "Back to the Country," [on Dr. John Zahorsky].

The Twainian, May-June: "Tom Sawyer's Town, a Sketch [of Hannibal, Missouri]," by John A. Winkler; *ibid.*, July-August: "Tom Sawyer Manuscript Purchased by Missouri."

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, July: "Virginians on Olympus: III Daniel Boone: The Paragon in Buckskin," by Marshall W. Fishwick.

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